



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-211
Thursday
2 November 1989

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-211

CONTENTS

2 November 1989

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Bulgarian Daily Assesses Warsaw Pact Session [Bekhar in RABOTNICHESKO DELO 28 Oct]	1
CEMA Engineering Committee Opens Session [Sofia Radio]	1
Silayev on 'Unsolved Problems' [BTA]	1
Atanasov Receives Leaders [BTA]	2
Session Ends [Sofia Radio]	2
Results Reported [BTA]	2
Budapest Sees Little Progress [MTI]	2
New Forms of Cooperation Within CEMA Proposed [East Berlin Radio]	3
CEMA Session on Baby Food, Packaging Begins [RUDE PRAVO 26 Oct]	3
Session Ends [RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct]	3
CEMA Meeting on Biotechnology Begins in Leipzig [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Oct]	3

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'Vienna Club' Agrees on Antidrug Moves [TANJUG]	4
CSSR Submits Ecology Proposal at Sofia Meeting [RUDE PRAVO 21 Oct]	4
Nongovernmental Ecological Roundtable Opens [BTA]	4
Roundtable Ends [BTA]	4
Journalists Briefed on Ecoforum [Sofia Radio]	5
Nongovernmental Organizations Meet in Tirana [POLITIKA 19 Oct]	5
Minorities 'Negated' [POLITIKA 24 Oct]	5
Balkan Economic Cooperation Meeting Opens [AGERPRES]	5
Plovdiv Nondestructive Testing Conference Opens [BTA]	6
International Meeting on Cancer Research Opened [BTA]	6

ALBANIA

Alia Speaks at Luncheon in Berat 22 Oct [ZERI I POPULLIT 23 Oct]	7
Myftiu Speaks at Berat Anniversary Celebration [ATA]	8

BULGARIA

'Full Text' of Zhivkov Plenum Speech Published [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 29 Oct]	10
--	----

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

600 GDR Emigrants at FRG's Prague Embassy [CTK]	32
Husak Sends Congratulations to GDR's Krenz [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	32
USSR's Baklanov Visits, Holds Talks	32
Visits Moravian Enterprises [RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct]	32
Meets With Jakes [CTK]	32
Joint Venture With Bulgarian Automobile Works [RUDE PRAVO 26 Oct]	32
Deputy Minister Janku Ends U.S. Visit 23 Oct [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	33
National Council's Kempny in FRG 24 Oct [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	33
Lenart Visits France, Talks With Marchais	33
Departs for Paris [CTK]	33
Meets With Marchais [CTK]	33
Comments on Talks [Prague TV]	34
NATO Session, Polish, Hungarian Events Viewed [Jelinek in RUDE PRAVO 27 Oct]	34
Dubcek on 'Isolated' Leadership on Hungarian TV [Budapest TV]	35
Youth Daily Journalists Caught Up in Demonstration [MLADA FRONTA 31 Oct]	35
President Issues Order for Anniversary [Bratislava PRAVDA 27 Oct]	36

Anniversary of Republic's Founding Marked	37
Stepan Stresses Party Role in Restructuring [CTK]	38
Johanes on Environmental Initiatives, Cooperation [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	38
Proponents of Market Economy, Sik Attacked [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	39
Report on 27 Oct CPCZ CC Presidium Session [RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct]	41
People's Party Condemns 'Illegal' Faction [LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 19 Oct]	41
Julis on Housing Policy, Planned Changes [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	42
Assembly Chamber Views Housing Situation [RUDE PRAVO 25 Oct]	43

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

U.S. Criticized for Rejecting Gorbachev Proposal [Knack in BERLINER ZEITUNG 28-29 Oct]	45
NATO Criticized for Ignoring Arms Proposals [Herbell in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Oct]	45
Krenz, Gorbachev Reach 'Complete Agreement' [ADN]	45
Meeting Communique [ADN]	46
Krenz Returns [ADN]	48
Krenz Departs for Working Visit to Poland [ADN]	48
Krenz Seeks Trade Agreement With EC [East Berlin Radio]	48
EC Official Visits [ADN]	48
Relations Discussed [ADN]	48
Gerlach Meets EC Official [ADN]	49
Further on Talks [Hamburg DPA]	49
Krenz Receives Congratulations on Elections [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Oct]	50
Expresses Thanks [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Oct]	50
'Thousands' Travel to CSSR: More in Embassy [East Berlin Radio]	50
3,000 Vehicles Expected [ADN]	50
20,000 Demonstrate in Neubrandenburg [ADN]	50
Tisch Resigns Position as Chairman of FDGB [ADN]	50
Kimmel Proposed for Chair [ADN]	51
Kimmel Elected [ADN]	51
States Policy [East Berlin Radio]	51
Further on Resignation [ADN]	51
Union Chairman Resigns [ADN]	51
SED's Schabowski, Neumann Talk to Workers [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Oct]	52
SED CC Thanks People for Letters [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Oct]	52
Jarowski Calls for Economic Reform [East Berlin Radio]	52
Dresden Authorities Discuss Problems [ADN]	52
Musicians' Association Sends Letter to Krenz [ADN]	53
Next CC Session To Bring Personnel Reshuffle [Hamburg DIE WELT 26 Oct]	53
CDU Demands Legalization of New Forum [East Berlin Radio]	54
Lawyers Demand Increase of Legal Security [East Berlin Radio]	54
People's Chamber Group Admits Lack of Control [East Berlin Radio]	54
Opposition Wants SED To Renounce Lead Role [Hamburg DPA]	54
Revision of SED Statutes, Election System Urged [East Berlin Radio]	55
Rector Sends Open Letter to Humboldt University [BERLINER ZEITUNG 25 Oct]	55
Stoph Suggests More Accountability in Economy [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 27 Oct]	56
3d Airbus for Interflug Arrives in Berlin [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Oct]	58
Regular Air Traffic With FRG To Continue [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Oct]	58
Plan by 'Neo-Nazi' To Travel to GDR Rejected [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Oct]	58
Environmental Projects With FRG Discussed [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 25 Oct]	59
Herbell Commentary Criticizes Bluem Statements [Herbell in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 26 Oct]	59
Physicians Criticize French Nuclear Tests [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28-29 Oct]	59

HUNGARY

Nemeth Letter to Soviet Ryzhkov Handed to Envoy [MTI]	60
Minister Marothy, USSR's Vorontsov Sign Accord [MTI]	60
CSSR Ready To Begin Diversion of Danube [Budapest Radio]	60
Nemeth To Hold Talks in Belgrade 3-4 Nov [MTI]	60
Further Reportage on Pozsgay Visit to Canada	60
Speech at Banquet [Budapest Radio]	60

Meets Montreal Hungarians [MTI]	61
Talks With Canada's Mulroney [MTI]	61
Horn Holds Talks With Icelandic Counterpart [MTI]	61
HSP's Nyers Leaves for Copenhagen Visit [MTI]	61
Belgian Socialist Delegation Ends Visit, Departs [MTI]	62
European Parliament's Christian Democrats Visit	62
Horn Receives Delegation [MTI]	62
Szurows Meets Delegation [MTI]	62
MTI Reports on Visit	62
Szurows Receives Council of Europe Delegation [MTI]	63
Free Trade Agreement Proposed With Austria [MTI]	63
Pozsgay Confirmed as HSP Presidential Candidate [MTI]	63
National Assembly Votes on Troop Withdrawals [Budapest Radio]	64
Nyers Says Grosz Statement on MSZMP Confusing [Budapest TV]	64
Nemeth Meets With Opposition Party Leaders [Budapest Radio]	64
Opposition Parties Agree on Fund Distribution [Budapest Radio]	64
Pozsgay Interviewed on Outlook for Country [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR 30 Oct]	65
Police Chief Reports Rising Crime Rate [MTI]	66

POLAND

Relations With ROK Established, Envoys Received	67
AFP Reports New Relations	67
Delegation Received in Seoul [PAP]	67
Comments on Warsaw Pact Meeting Reported	67
Rakowski on Talks [TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 Oct]	67
'Profound Reassessments' Viewed [Kedaj in TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 Oct]	68
Nowak Interviewed [London ITV]	69
Expert on Reform, Warsaw Treaty [PAP]	69
Pact Talks, Shevardnadze's Remarks Discussed [Zdziech in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 27 Oct]	70
'Closest Possible Cooperation' With USSR Backed [PAP]	70
USSR Official Sees Protests' 'Positive Edge' [PAP]	70
Senate Speaker Meets Vice President Quayle [PAP]	71
Krol, Michnik Comment on Rome Symposium [PAP]	71
Foreign Ministry Spokesman's News Conference [TRYBUNA LUDU 27 Oct]	72
Jaruzelski Appoints New Ministers of State [PAP]	73
9-Month Economic Statistics Report Released [PAP]	73
Daily Poll Notes Drop in Popular Confidence [PAP]	74
Army Daily on Interior Ministry Changes [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 26 Oct]	74
New Wroclaw First Secretary Elected 27 Oct [Wroclaw Radio]	75
Warsaw Workers Congress Forum Formed, Meets [TRYBUNA LUDU 28-29 Oct]	75
Students Demonstrate Outside Council of Ministers [Warsaw TV]	76
Parliamentary Caucus Sessions Held 30 Oct [PAP]	76

ROMANIA

Enlarged Plenum Proceedings Resume 25 Oct [AGERPRES]	77
Debate Reported [AGERPRES]	77
Ceausescu Makes Working Visit to Braila County [AGERPRES]	78
Harvest Day Speech [SCINTEIA 31 October]	79
Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Oct	82

YUGOSLAVIA

Significance of Gorbachev-Bush Talks Noted [Sundic on Zagreb Radio]	84
Drnovsek Congratulates GDR's Krenz on Election [BORBA 27 Oct]	84
Protest Note Sent to Swedish Center Party [POLITIKA 24 Oct]	84
Group Protests in Sweden Over Shatri [TANJUG]	84
Loncar Proposes Cooperation Ideas With EFTA [TANJUG]	85
Markovic Sends Memorandum to EC Commission [TANJUG]	85
Demonstrations Continue in Urosevac, Pristina	85

Urosevac Students Protest	[TANJUG]	85
Pristina Albanians Protest	[TANJUG]	85
Police Disperse Protestors	[TANJUG]	86
Protestors Open Fire on Militia	[Belgrade Radio]	86
Unconfirmed Second Death Reported	[Ljubljana Radio]	86
Presidency Rejects Abrogating Vlasi Charges	[TANJUG]	86
TANJUG Comments on Trial		87
Kosovo's Morina Interviewed on Unity in Serbia	[POLITIKA 15 Oct]	87
Morina Nominated Kosovo Party President	[TANJUG]	89
LCY Central Committee on Attacks on Tito	[TANJUG]	89
Ex-Presidency Member Vrhovec Criticizes Serbia	[BORBA 16 Oct]	89
Serbian SAWP Proposes Candidates for Posts	[Zagreb Radio]	91
Belgrade City Committee Presidium Elected	[BORBA 19 Oct]	91
Bosnian President Contacts Slobodan Milosevic	[POLITIKA 27 Oct]	91
Vojvodina Rehabilitates Former Leaders	[TANJUG]	91
Montenegrin Government Member Resigns	[TANJUG]	91
Macedonian LC Protests Call for 1 Dec Holiday	[TANJUG]	92
New Skopje City Committee President Elected	[TANJUG]	92
Policy Neglect of Minorities Criticized	[TANJUG]	92
Bor Assembly Wants Details on Excessive Radiation	[Belgrade Radio]	92

Bulgarian Daily Assesses Warsaw Pact Session

*AU3010154589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 28 Oct 89 p 4*

[Maksim Bekhar commentary: "'Floors' of Peaceful Process"]

[Text] Issues of disarmament occupied a central place in the statements read at the Warsaw meeting of the Warsaw Pact Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. For many years those issues have been the basic precondition of establishing lasting and secure peace in Europe.

The desire to effect rapid and specific steps again dominated the atmosphere at the Warsaw meeting. All issues that could prevent the development of a climate of confidence, mutual understanding, and respect for sovereignty, were reviewed with utmost care. The opinion that the military-political alliances must not be involved in bilateral conflicts, and that a constructive and equal dialogue between the interested sides is the only way of solving such conflicts, was unanimously expressed. Many specific proposals, made at the meeting by the diplomats of the socialist countries, also were reflected in the final document. Now they have special importance mainly because precisely those proposals are the new outstretched hand and appeal for constructing the safe foundations of the common European home.

However, every home has its "floors." And if we accept the fact that from the political aspect of the matter the meetings, talks, multilateral conferences, and consultations gradually begin to assert themselves, then we must also note that much must yet be done to develop economic relations. Therefore, an indicative precedent drew attention at the Warsaw meeting of the committee—for the first time members of the governments, in charge of foreign economic cooperation, took part in the meeting.

Naturally, one must mention the ecological issue. Stressing the necessity of expanding cooperation in environmental protection, the participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the international meeting, which is taking place in Sofia, will produce a new impetus in this respect. In addition to highly assessing the organization and conduct of Sofia's meeting, the participants in the Warsaw meeting expressed hope that the Sofia meeting will end with specific results, that will positively reflect the development of the all-European process.

Thus, the roads of cooperation really have many addresses but also their own specific dimensions. Now diplomacy is in charge.

CEMA Engineering Committee Opens Session

*AU2410163889 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] The CEMA member countries will combine their efforts in the production of new, even more comfortable

Il-90-300 and Tu-204 passenger aircraft. Mass production of light automobiles with engine capacities of 1,200 and 1,800 cubic centimeters will also be started.

The development of cooperation in these and other main fields is being discussed at the 11th session of the CEMA Committee for Machine-Building Cooperation that opened in Sofia today. A delegation from Yugoslavia is also taking part.

Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, delivered a greetings message to the participants on behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Silayev on 'Unsolved Problems'

*AU2410191289 Sofia BTA in English
1810 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—The CMEA [CEMA] member states will join their efforts in the production of new, more comfortable passenger airplanes Il-90-300 and Tu-204. They will start serial production of cars with volume of the engine 1200-1800 cc [cubic centimeters].

The development of the cooperation in these and other basic spheres is discussed at the eleventh session of the CMEA Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Mechanical Engineering, which started here today. It is also attended by a delegation of Yugoslavia.

On behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers a greetings address to the participants was read by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, leader of the Bulgarian delegation and permanent representative of Bulgaria at the CMEA.

Mr Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, who is chairing the session, pointed out that in the recent time the cooperation between the CMEA member states has met certain difficulties and unsolved problems, the sphere of mechanical engineering included. That brings the need to fill the economic relations between them with new content and forms, to create a mutually advantageous mechanism which will make the direct contacts between the enterprises constant. He stressed that this session starts in conditions of restructuring of the economic mechanisms of development of the separate countries, at complete restructuring of their productions and at the completion of the coordination of their national economy plans. This fact requires to improve the work of the CMEA committee, especially after having in mind that to a considerable degree the socio-economic advance of the CMEA countries depends on the united efforts of those working in our mechanical engineering, on their efficient cooperation.

In the course of two days the session will discuss the proposals for further development of the mechanism of cooperation in mechanical engineering, the work of the committee for the 1990-1991 period. Special attention will be paid to the discussion of the draft of the comprehensive agreement for techno-scientific cooperation and

production specialisation in the sphere of equipment and systems for automation, the organization of the serial production of new aviation technology and cars.

Atanasov Receives Leaders

*AU2510203489 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the leaders of the delegations attending the 11th session of the CMEA [CEMA] Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Mechanical Engineering.

He acquainted the guests with the tasks of the deep structural and technological restructuring of the Bulgarian economy.

The prime minister pointed out that at this new stage of its socio-economic development Bulgaria attaches special attention to the cooperation, to the deepening of specialization and cooperation in the framework of the CMEA as one of the decisive factors for the further advance of Bulgaria.

The chairman of the CMEA committee Mr Ivan Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, informed the leader of the Bulgarian Government of the basic questions which have been discussed at the 11th session of the committee. He stressed the need of radical changes in the forms and methods of the work of the committee ensuing from the economic reforms carried out in the different countries.

Session Ends

*AU2510203789 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] The 11th session of the CEMA Committee for Machine-Building Cooperation ended in Sofia today.

A protocol was signed on the committee's work in the field of machine building during 1990.

The communique issued for publication stresses that the concept has been approved for cooperation in setting up production sharing for the manufacture of a promising series of automobiles, as well as for multilateral cooperation in specialization and production sharing for the manufacture of the long-range Il-90 300-seat passenger aircraft.

The document was signed on behalf of Bulgaria by Comrade Andrey Lukanov.

Results Reported

*AU2610132689 Sofia BTA in English
0809 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Text] Sofia, October 26 (BTA)—To stimulate the establishing of direct relations between the enterprises of the mechanical engineering branches of the socialist community through the establishing of a flexible, efficient

and mutually advantageous mechanism for joint action—this is one of the most important tasks set by the CMEA [CEMA] Committee for Cooperation in the Sphere of Mechanical Engineering at its 11th session which was held last night. The leaders of the delegations signed a protocol.

The session discussed the agreements for multilateral cooperation on the specialisation in the production of passenger airplanes Il-96-300 and Tu-204. The delegations viewed the trends for realization of the collective concept for international socialist division of labour for the 1991-2005 period.

The committee approved the programme for cooperation on the provision of the countries with transport technical devices for the next 10 years.

The session reported the fulfilment of the agreement for the production of nuclear power plants equipment. Measures for the further improvement of the coordination and cooperation of the countries in this sphere were outlined.

Budapest Sees Little Progress

*LD2610111689 Budapest MTI in English
1025 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 26, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The 11th session of Comecon's Machine Industry Cooperation Committee started in the Bulgarian capital on Tuesday.

Topics on the agenda of the three-day session are: the development of the structure of cooperation, cooperation in the manufacture of the IL 96-300 and TU 204 passenger aircraft, specialized cooperation in the manufacture of cars, and environmental protection equipment.

The Hungarian delegation, headed by Deputy Minister of Industry Gyula Sos, is not anticipating much of a step forward in cooperation in view of the marked differences between the viewpoints of the participating countries. The expected compromise is not likely to promote integration, MTI's Sofia correspondent reports.

As to cooperation in car manufacture, talks are to focus on the development of medium-sized cars, such as Ladas and Dacias: The partner countries would like to reach an interstate agreement on this, which they would then break down into intercompany agreements. The Hungarian Government is not willing to assume such an obligation any more, and so it intends offering company-level deliveries of certain car components in return for complete cars. The final outline is to be drawn up by next summer.

In the field of aircraft, Hungary is only interested from a user's point of view. It would also like to take up cooperation deliveries of certain units and flight-deck control systems, but deliveries would not reach the amount to be considered as return payment. Even so, the Hungarian demand is still there: If the technical standard and price are suitable, Hungary would like to purchase 14 aeroplanes from the USSR by the year 2000.

The question of an interstate agreement has been definitely decided, though: The Hungarian side will not be signing this agreement, either.

The topic of environmental protection devices and instruments is still new to the agenda of the machine industry cooperation committee. Rather than laying down any actual concrete tasks, only preliminary measures are likely to be taken in Sofia.

New Forms of Cooperation Within CEMA Proposed

*AU2810162789 East Berlin Voice of GDR
in German 1500 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Text] The GDR wants to take into consideration the changed conditions in individual socialist countries in cooperation within CEMA. At the end of the 132d meeting of the alliance's Executive Committee, the GDR's permanent representative, Soelle, cited direct relations between combines and enterprises as an example of this. Of course, various steps are only supported by interested partners, which may give rise to complicated problems, he pointed out. The GDR is in favor of CEMA compensating price fluctuations in the world market by establishing prices on the basis of a several-year average. The majority of the participants shared this view.

CEMA Session on Baby Food, Packaging Begins

*AU3010142489 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 26 Oct 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] The third session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Agricultural-Industrial Complex, which began in Skalsky Dvur in the district of Zdar nad Sazavou on Wednesday [25 October], addresses, in particular, the Interplodvoshsch project for the production and deliveries of baby food and diabetic food made of fruit and vegetables for and the Intertara project for the production and delivery of packaging and packaging materials. In addition to the CEMA member states and Yugoslavia, the 2-day session is also attended by a representative of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Session Ends

*AU0111122989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 27 Oct 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] The session of the CEMA Committee for Cooperation in the Agricultural-Industrial Complex ended in Skalsky Dvur in the Zdar area with the signing of the final protocol on Thursday [26 October]. It discussed, among other things, the unification of quality norms. The Czechoslovak view is that CEMA should proceed from world norms, for example from the norms of the EEC or the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Further, the Czechoslovak side recommended that cooperation be established between the executive organs and commissions of CEMA and the EEC in agriculture and food, as this is still lacking. In this respect we stressed that these tasks can be fulfilled only if the work of the CEMA Secretariat markedly improves.

CEMA Meeting on Biotechnology Begins in Leipzig

*AU3110095389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 25 Oct 89 p 3*

[ADN report: "Leipzig: CEMA Meeting on Biotechnology"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—More direct relations between institutes and enterprises of all CEMA countries can contribute to overcoming the still unsatisfactory division of labor in biotechnology. This was stressed by Guenter Zillmann, deputy minister for science and technology and government representative for biotechnology, in Leipzig on Tuesday [24 October]. At the beginning of the second meeting of the Office for Biotechnology at the CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technological Cooperation, the GDR delegation head said that research, development, and the introduction of new processes and equipment into production need more efficient coordination. In this process, it is necessary to coordinate national requirements of the member countries and international trends. About 400 research institutions of the CEMA countries are participating in joint biotechnological projects.

'Vienna Club' Agrees on Antidrug Moves*LD2410111689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2354 GMT 23 Oct 89*

[Text] Vienna, Oct 23 (TANJUG)—From the start of 1990, controls and other measures for fighting drug trafficking will be intensified on the Balkan section of the international illegal drug transit route leading from Asia and southeastern Europe through Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria towards the West.

This was one of the agreements reached at a meeting on Monday of the "Vienna Club" of European countries for coordinating the struggle against terrorism and drug abuse and cooperation on the settlement of the problem of refugees, in whose work Yugoslavia participated for the first time.

At Austria's initiative, Yugoslavia and Hungary participated in the regular consultations of ministers, officials and experts of the interior ministries of France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Austria.

The participants of the meeting, attended by Yugoslav Assistant Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Misovic, also agreed to set up a group of experts of the member countries of the now extended Vienna Club to review certain measures in the struggle against terrorism.

Participants noted that the problem of refugees was increasingly serious in Europe and the growing "migration of people" required intensified and synchronized measures of the European countries.

CSSR Submits Ecology Proposal at Sofia Meeting*AU2410134889 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 1*

[Text] Sofia (CTK)—At the European ecological meeting in Sofia on Friday [20 October], the Czechoslovak delegation submitted a proposal for the elaboration of an agreement on prevention, timely warning, exchange of information, and provision of mutual assistance in the event of industrial accidents which could cause ecological damage extending across borders.

The CSSR also proposes recommending to the Secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe that it appoint a group of experts to assess the degree of responsibility for damage caused by industrial accidents.

Nongovernmental Ecological Roundtable Opens*AU2410152189 Sofia BTA in English
1442 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Excerpts] Sofia, October 24 (BTA)—"Ecological Security and the Common European Home" is the topic of the "roundtable" which started here today organized by three nongovernmental organizations: The National Committee for European Security and Cooperation, the National Committee for Defence of Peace and the Eco-forum for Peace Movement.

The need of international interaction in environment preservation, the ever broader place of ecological activity in international cooperation, the important role of the care for environment in the process of healing the international situation—these are some of the aspects of the topic which will be viewed today and tomorrow by representatives of CSCE member states.

The new political thinking created a favourable base for the resolution of the problems of environment as well, pointed out Mr Boris Tsvetkov, chairman of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Among the political, economic, humanitarian and other components of the common European home for which we strive—the ecological one acquires a priority character. It is evident that it represents the most rapidly developing trend in the CSCE process, said Mr Boris Tsvetkov. [passage omitted]

The speaker as well as many of his "roundtable" interlocutors related the attainment of an ecological security in Europe with East-West techno-scientific and technological cooperation. The governments should provide the opportunities for a resultative exchange of the nature-protecting technologies and technical means without any kinds of restrictions whatsoever, Mr Boris Tsvetkov said. He called anachronistic and paradoxical the behaviour of states which rhetorically declare themselves for a pure Europe while openly oppose the consideration of the issues of technological cooperation. The leader of the National Committee for European Security and Cooperation declared himself for an alleviated trade duty for attainment of technologies and equipment for ecological purposes, and the establishment of environment protection technologies and banks. [passage omitted]

Roundtable Ends*AU2510192789 Sofia BTA in English
1630 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Excerpt] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—The participants in the "Ecological Security and the Common European Home" roundtable sent an appeal to the representatives of the CSCE member states at the meeting in Sofia, for constructive dialogue and efficient interaction for the achievement of results in environment preservation.

The two-day talks of representatives of public organizations held on the initiative of the Bulgarian National Committee for European Security and Cooperation, the National Committee for Protection of Peace, the Eco-forum for Peace Movement and with the participation of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation, ended here today with the adoption of an appeal. It stresses that the ecological security has turned into a considerable element of the international security and cooperation. [passage omitted]

Journalists Briefed on Ecoforum

AU3110215189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] A briefing for Bulgarian journalists was held at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on today's proceedings at the Sofia ecological meeting.

At the afternoon session the delegations of neutral and nonaligned countries submitted an unofficial document expressing their views on the closing document of Ecoforum '89. The document reflects the coordinated principles, the stands, and the operational principles contained in the three basic problems which the experts are now discussing, such as: the transboundary consequences of industrial accidents, dealing with potentially dangerous chemical substances, and taking preventive measures against the pollution of international rivers and lakes.

The countries participating in the meeting have not yet expressed their stands on this unofficial documents. They will do so at the next session.

Nongovernmental Organizations Meet in Tirana

AU2510185889 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 89 p 5

[TANJUG report: "Delicate Limit That Must Not Be Crossed"]

[Text] Tirana, 18 Oct—As the coordinator of the Non-aligned Movement for the next 3 years, Yugoslavia will invest all its efforts so that the movement's program orientations serve the development of good-neighborly relations among the Balkan countries. This was stated by Mirko Ostojic, member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav League for Peace and Equality of People, at the conference of the Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation which started in Tirana today.

This is the first such meeting of Balkan countries' nongovernmental organizations in which all the six Balkan countries took part. The initiative for convening this conference was launched by the meeting of the Balkan countries' ministers held in Belgrade last February.

Stressing that the national question is at the same an internal question of every country, Mirko Ostojic also said that in this delicate sphere there is a limit which must not be exceeded in order not to interfere in internal affairs of other countries. Considering all past as well as more recent, difficulties in this sphere we must be very delicate and discuss them in an atmosphere of the highest possible tolerance, the head of the Yugoslav delegation stressed.

Minorities 'Negated'

AU0111112189 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Yugoslavia Promotes Minorities' Position"]

[Text] The very fact that yet another track of cooperation in the Balkans was laid at the conference of the Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation is a positive development. This was stated by Mirko Ostojic, member of the Yugoslav League for Peace and Equality of Peoples, who led the Yugoslav delegation at the 2-day conference in the capital city of Albania last week.

At the conference in Tirana, Yugoslavia promoted the idea of the need to improve the position and rights of minorities which represent a bridge of cooperation, especially in view of the fact that minorities existed in every Balkan country. Mirko Ostojic stressed.

According to him, however, the Romanian and Bulgarian delegations were against the question of minorities being entered as a general stand in the final document, and demanded the following formulation "where minorities exist." In this way these two countries in fact negated the existence of minorities on their territories, despite the contrary evidence.

Balkan Economic Cooperation Meeting Opens

AU0111200989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1802 GMT 1 Nov 89

["Reunion Devoted to Promoting Economic and Commercial Cooperation Among Balkan Countries"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] On the first of November proceedings started of a reunion on the promotion of economic and commercial cooperation among Balkan countries, in Bucharest. Representatives of Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania participate.

Opening the proceedings, on behalf of the Romanian Government, Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation Minister Ioan Ungur conveyed to the participants a warm salute and best wishes of success at the reunion. The speaker stressed the meeting to fall within the positive process of development of the relations on various planes among the Balkan countries and to be called to contribute to better capitalizing on the possibilities of economic and commercial cooperation among these countries. At the same time he showed that although the Balkan countries belong to different economic groupings, it is highly important to achieve ample collaboration and even institutionalized collaboration in the zone, which should contribute to solving with joint effort the problems posed by economic and social development in each country and in the region as a whole.

In the context Romania was pointed out to be firmly resolved to develop amply her bi- and multilateral cooperation with all the other Balkan countries, both by expanding and diversifying the commercial exchanges and by promoting new concrete cooperation ventures of joint interest. Romania's successes in its economic development offer greater opportunities for ample economic cooperation with those countries. Also expressed was the conviction that this reunion will mark further

progress along the path of intensified inter-Balkan economic and commercial cooperation, continuing the constructive approaches of the March 1989 Ankara reunion of ministers of the economy and foreign trade and of the ministerial reunion held in June this year, in Bucharest, for industrial cooperation and transfer of technology.

In the first day of the reunion the floor was also taken by the heads of the participant delegations.

Proceeding continue.

Plovdiv Nondestructive Testing Conference Opens

*AU2410201589 Sofia BTA in English
1853 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] Plovdiv, October 24 (BTA)—An international techno-scientific conference started here on "Modern Achievements of the Control and Testing Without Destruction". The establishment of a precise technique in this trend is a prerequisite for the overcoming of grave damages in the chemical industry, atomic power stations and transport.

The currency of the topic drew wide interest among the experts. Scientific workers from Austria, Belgium, the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, the FRG, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were presented by reports [as received]. In the framework of the international conference an exhibition-bazaar was opened of

modern techniques for fault detection, in which 16 companies-producers are participating with over 2,000 exhibits. Alongside the discussions there will be agreements for the sale of such kind of techniques.

International Meeting on Cancer Research Opened

*AU0111191989 Sofia BTA in English
1737 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Sofia, November 1 (BTA)—The international meeting on the subject of "Original Bulgarian Bioproducts Developed on the Basis of Selected Strain *Lactobacillus Bulgaricus* LB-51 and Stimulating Regeneration and Immunity" was opened here today. Besides Bulgarian specialists and scientists, the meeting is attended by guests from Italy, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

At the meeting a preliminary announcement was made about the stimulating and regulatory effect on the marrow and the immunobiological activity of lymphocytes of a medicine developed on the basis of selected strain *Lactobacillus Bulgaricus* LB-51 Deodan AB. Interest was aroused by the reports presented by Dr Antonio Scorio and Dr Edoardo Pacelli of the Italian centre of experimental immuno-oncology about the preliminary clinical results of the administration of the biologically active substance Deodan AB to patients suffering of cancer in terminal stage and the hypotheses and research of the causes conducive to the development of cancer.

Alia Speaks at Luncheon in Berat 22 Oct

AU2510103389 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 23 Oct 89 p 1

[*"There Is No Greater Commitment Than Commitment to the People—Greeting of Comrade Ramiz Alia," Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at luncheon in Berat on 22 October*]

[Text] First of all, I wish to congratulate you on today's great celebration, in the name of the party and of the comrades who have come here today. I particularly wish to greet former delegates to the historic Congress of Berat, whose decisions were of historic significance for the nation's destiny, and the people of this town, who warmly and generously welcomed the delegates of this congress and provided the conditions for the first provisional government to carry out its functions.

The Congress of Berat, whose 45th anniversary we are celebrating today, was a farsighted historic achievement of our glorious party and its unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. It set the seal on the people's determination to embark on a new road, that of developing socialism, democracy, independence, and national progress. The votes the people cast here had also been cast earlier in the tooth-and-nail struggle with foreign enemies and their tools. The decisions of this congress were the conclusion of the masses' heroic struggle.

Our people are proud of the road they chose. If we were to find ourselves again under the same historical conditions, the party and the people would act in exactly the same way as they did 45 years ago. We would install, as we did then, the power of the people. We would wear, as we do today, the red star as a symbol of freedom and progress.

The road on which the party has led our people has demonstrated its value and benefits. Albania had suffered everything, from foreign yokes, concessions to the interventions of foreign capital, to the monarchy and the rule of the feudal landlords and tribal chieftains. These regimes left the country and people in poverty, obscurantism, and deep backwardness.

Only socialism saved this country and people. It not only did not disappoint the generations of freedom-fighters, but exceeded their aspirations and ideals. Our people therefore love and defend its unbreakable power. The power of the people gave the people the liberty to enjoy the fruits of their own sweat and efforts, without being exploited by anybody. It liberated the masses from the age-old yoke of ignorance, lifted their spiritual thralldom, and made them masters of the country, freeing them from insecurity and anxiety for the morrow. The new state destroyed the foundations of its citizens' feeling of inferiority toward the law, the state, officials, and the administration.

Without this fundamental freedom brought by the new state, the thorough economic and social transformation of the country would not have been achieved, and the glorious victories which have gone down in history such as

socialist industrialization, the collectivization and modernization of agriculture, the broad expansion of education and national culture, social emancipation, socialist civilization, and so forth, would have been impossible.

We must build further on these historic victories. The party teaches us to value the past and to draw lessons from it. Our country is at present faced with major tasks. We must work to strengthen the economy, to boost social production, to increase the social product, to raise prosperity, and to guarantee the future. We must fight to obtain more material benefits from natural resources, from the technology we have mastered, from people's labor and knowledge, and from the material base we have created.

The programs of economic and social development drafted by the party represent its commitment to the people, and our party is not used to separating words from deeds. It has no greater commitment than its commitment to the people. Therefore, everybody, organs of the state and the economy, and social and state organizations, must fight to make these plans a reality.

The people's state must fully use all the extensive power it possesses, and exert all the authority given to it by the Constitution. Its organs must not allow their authority to be usurped by apparatuses, the administration, and bureaucrats. Such phenomena weaken their power and cripple the democracy of the masses.

The Eighth Party Central Committee Plenum once again strongly reemphasized the need to deepen socialist democracy and expand the role of the masses as decisive factors for strengthening the power of the people. This is the kernel of this plenum's decisions. This must be understood in depth by everybody, just as the need for incessant struggle against bureaucracy and other alien symptoms that affect the nature of the people's power must also be understood. Implementing the decision of the Eighth Plenum calls for determined work and concrete action, not general words and propaganda. Steps must be taken by means of laws, instructions, prescriptive directions, and changes in the nomenklatura and in the scope of authority, adapting them to the needs of the times. This is a matter that cannot wait. Our state must be fresh and active at all times, so that it can meet the demands our socialist society sets before it.

We are now at the crest of our wave of work to fulfill the tasks of this jubilee year, completing the eighth 5-year period and setting tasks for the next 5-year period, in an atmosphere of celebration aroused by anniversaries like today's, on the threshold of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the victory of the people's revolution. Let us arrive at these events with fresh achievements and high results in all spheres.

Once again I wish the people of Berat success in performing the tasks that belong to them.

Long live the power of the people!

Long live the party!

Long live the people!

Myftiu Speaks at Berat Anniversary Celebration

AU2310135989 Tirana ATA in English
0912 GMT 23 Oct 89

["45th Anniversary of the Second Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council Magnificently Celebrated—Comrade Ramiz Alia and Other Party and State Leaders Attend"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 23 (ATA)—On October 22, Berat town, where there was held 45 years ago the second meeting of the Antifascist National-Liberation Council from which emerged the first democratic government of Albania, was in an atmosphere of festivity. Former members of the Antifascist National-Liberation Council as well as working people from all the regions of Berat District gathered there with the unforgettable memoirs of those October 1944 days. Their joy became greater by the arrival to participate in this festivity of Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other party and state leaders, Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Hajredin Celiku, Manush Myftiu, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; the vice presidents of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu and Mine Guri; the members of the party Central Committee, Shafqet Peci, Spiro Koleka, and Haxhi Lleshi. Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders were welcomed by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Avdyli Pilafi, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Kristaq Kule.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met with former partisans of the Antifascist National-Liberation Council, participants in this meeting, with veterans of war and labour, youngsters. Together with them he headed for the main square of the town, where a rally was organized on occasion of this festivity.

The speech on the occasion was held by Comrade Manush Myftiu, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Control Commission, who said among others:

Today we commemorate one of the most marked dates of the heroic liberation struggle of the Albanian people. 45 years ago on October 22, 1944, in the liberated Berat, the second meeting of the Antifascist National-Liberation Council adopted the historic decision to transform its committee into democratic government of Albania. The legendary commander of the National-Liberation Army, the glorious leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was elected in the lead of the first government of new Albania.

Just as in every occasion when we commemorate events of historic importance for the destinies of the country, today too the most profound gratitude and respect are for the people who cemented with their blood the foundations of the people's power, for the glorious party that with loyalty, clarity and farsightedness organized and led it and for the founder of the party and architect of the new power, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Our party did not separate for a single moment the struggle for national liberation from the struggle for power, which is the fundamental problem of every revolution.

For the first time in the history of our country, the "Declaration of the Rights of the Citizen" was adopted in Berat. It expressed the will of the people, who, as the declaration says, considering themselves forgers of their destinies, had decided to bury once and for all the gloomy past and to set up the new state of a society of free and dignified people. Thanks to their consistent struggle, our labouring masses consolidated and promoted these victories. The deep political economic and social transformations that took place after the liberation of the homeland bear the seal of their will and direct revolutionary activity. As masters of the country, they have guaranteed their free, better life and reliable perspective for incessant progress.

There is no doubt that in socialist Albania the won freedoms and rights will be consolidated and carried forward. Only socialism can guarantee and raise higher the dignity of free man.

Further on Comrade Manush Myftiu underscored:

In the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that the permanent link with the broad masses remains also nowadays decisive for the strength of our power, for its abilities to carry out major tasks to implement the line of the party for the country's progress.

Let us deepen and continuously perfect this link urging the initiative and creative debate of the masses, involving them in the solution of the problems and launching them in struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism.

This is of decisive importance for our power to preserve and deepen its popular character, to destroy every attempt of the internal and external enemies and to be always a powerful weapon for the successful construction of socialism.

Today more than ever, as shown by the counterrevolutionary events in the Soviet Union and some other countries of Eastern Europe, it is clear to all that the weakening in the slightest of the leading role of the party gravely violates the class character of the people's power, is a blow to its foundations, leads to the degeneration and overthrow of this power.

Therefore our party considers the struggle for the further deepening of socialist democracy and the all-round strengthening of the people's power as a matter of major relevant importance.

The current developments in the world, Comrade Manush Myftiu continued, are complex and contradictory. On one side the imperialist superpowers reach time and again agreements for partial restriction of some weapons or for the solution of some local conflicts, which has not at all changed their aggressive nature and policy, on the other the hue and cry raised about these agreements has paved the road to all kinds of pacifist illusions, that lower the vigilance of the peoples towards these dangers threatening them. The Soviet Union, Poland and Hungary are consuming the process of capitalist degeneration and are plunged deeper and deeper in grave political, economic and moral crisis. It is not fortuitous that the economic political reforms that are occurring in these countries, find the greater support and instigation from the capitalist powers and from the world financial business circles. All this is accompanied by a savage campaign with an arrogant offensive of the bourgeoisie against socialism and the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Continuing the sound tradition of our party, the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee made a deep analysis of the processes that are occurring in the world today, particularly in the countries of Eastern Europe. Our party had long since foreseen the development and logic and of these processes, since when modern revisionism appeared on the scene, and became the main political force in these countries.

The experience of socialist Albania clearly speaks of the vitality of the socialist order, the major possibilities it opens up to the society for development and progress. Only on the road of socialism our country could carry out epoch-making transformations.

Owing to the resolute and principled stand, the realistic and farsighted analysis of the current developments on a regional or world scale, owing to the consistent and principled policy of the party, Albania enjoys respect and sympathy, has an honoured name and its prestige keeps rising on the international arena.

One of the main features of our foreign policy is good neighbourliness. Our party has taken special care to ensure understanding and cooperation with the neighbouring countries. Loyal abiding by this policy our country is playing an active role to carry ahead the positive process initiated among the Balkan countries to strengthen peace and stability on our peninsula. We have the same desire to maintain and develop state, economic and cultural relations of mutual benefit with all the neighbouring countries.

We have tried and will try to have the same relations also with our northern neighbour, Yugoslavia. But we are obliged to notice that our efforts have not yielded the same results as with the other neighbouring states. It is

clearly seen that in the Yugoslav foreign policy towards Albania and the Albanians in particular there is a strong current which proceeds from prejudices, from anti-Albanian chauvinist inclinations. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not interfered and does not interfere in the home affairs of Yugoslavia, because the principle of non-interference is consistently implemented in our foreign policy. But first of all, it is the right and duty of socialist Albania to raise the voice when the rights of the Albanians are trampled under foot, and defend them. This is in full conformity with international norms.

The leading role of the party, Comrade Manush Myftiu said in conclusion, has been decisive in all the successes and victories achieved over these 45 years. The building of socialism in our country will not have advanced at those rates and proportions without our Marxist-Leninist party as an inspiring, organizing and leading force.

Therefore, as the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee instructs us, let us work continuously to strengthen the party and its leading role in all fields, to maintain it always revolutionary ideologically pure, lively and active to cope successfully with the problems emerging from life. Let us strengthen everywhere and always the militant and vanguard role of the communists, the unity of the people round the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head

After the rally, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades went to the museum hall where 45 years ago the democratic government of Albania was formed.

"When we commemorate such marked events, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, we draw lessons from history, for the present and the future."

Comrade Ramiz Alia and other comrades paid a visit to the Museum of the Antifascist National Liberation War of the district, former seat of the first democratic government till November 27, 1944. It was from here that Comrade Enver Hoxha announced the joyful news of the liberation of the capital on November 17, 1944.

Then, on occasion of the 45th anniversary of the formation of the democratic government of Albania, the party Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the party committee and the Executive Committee of the District People's Council gave a dinner, where those present were greeted by Comrade Ramiz Alia.

After that a great festive concert was given at the stadium of the town.

At the end of the activities conducted on occasion of the 45th anniversary of the second meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council, the people of Berat District saw off with affection Comrade Ramiz Alia and other party and state leaders, as well as former delegates of this meeting.

'Full Text' of Zhivkov Plenum Speech Published

AU0111162789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 29 Oct 89 pp 1-4

[“Full text” of Todor Zhivkov report: “On the Course of Restructuring at the Present Stage, and on the Preparation of the Forthcoming 14th Party Congress” to be submitted for discussion at the forthcoming BCP Central Committee meeting, scheduled to take place on 10 November 1989]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Over 2 years have elapsed since the **July Plenum** of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee at which we confirmed the concept on the further construction of socialism in our country that helped us to proceed along the path of **fundamental restructuring and comprehensive renewal** of our society.

It is unnecessary for us to go back to the meaning of the July concept. As is known, by adopting the July concept we do not intend to perfect, nor to improve nor even correct the present model of socialism in our country, but we assumed the task of creating a new model for socialism in accordance with present-day realities, by preserving all the positive elements it contains in a dialectical form, elements which are the results of the people's efforts and of the party's achievements.

Following the July Plenum, we covered a stage of development which enables us and requires us to assess our achievements and the main tasks of our near future.

Such an assessment is possible because the period following the adoption of the July Concept was marked by essentially important and intensive efforts in significant restructuring areas:

- The **initial stage** of a profound innovative process in the development of our socialist society was marked.
- The variety of problems which we come across, the emerging difficulties in the course of restructuring, the corrections required, and sometimes even the turning points in the programs for practical work, as well as the differentiated manner in which people are accepting and evaluating events all provide evidence of the **complexity** of the current restructuring process, of its **vital and offensive nature**.

Such an evaluation is urgently required because restructuring cannot be treated like a formula that remains irrevocable once it has been proclaimed.

We need restructuring because we are entering a period characterized by fundamentally new tasks, some of which are within the competence of our highest party forum, namely, the congress.

- This is how the preparations for the 14th BCP Congress are, so to speak, logically becoming part of our current working agenda and part of the agenda of our forthcoming BCP Central Committee Plenum.

In considering all these factors, the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee decided that a BCP Central Committee Plenum should be held at which questions related to the present course of restructuring, to the forthcoming tasks, and to the preparations for the 14th BCP Congress should be discussed.

1.

Our Development Is Proceeding in the Spirit of Renewal

If we were to describe the situation in our country in the most general terms and present the activities of the BCP in particular, we could say that **our development in all spheres is proceeding in the spirit of renewal**.

- The work of the party, state, social, and economic organs and organizations at all levels is subject to this spirit.

The progress achieved to date in restructuring in Bulgaria and the experience we have accumulated confirm the correctness of the July Concept.

As far as the significance of the July Concept for the country's development is concerned—only time, only a test of our practical experience can provide a general and sufficiently definite answer to this question. It is, however, unnecessary to judge things from the distance of time in order to understand and appreciate that the July Concept, far from being a theoretical formula, genuinely responds to the requirement that our further development should rely on a well-founded strategy for the future.

As in the past, we are guided by Marxism-Leninism in discussing and resolving these questions. The restructuring processes which are taking place in the socialist countries, and primarily in the Soviet Union, are of basic political and practical importance for us.

- We have in mind the fact that the restructuring process currently under way in the world of socialism is a complicated, but already irrevocable socioeconomic, political, and intellectual process.
- We have in mind the fact that not only the individual and real steps forward that have been accomplished in the restructuring process, but also the accumulated, new historical experience should be counted among the credits earned in recent years.

All this not only consolidates our confidence and not only enriches our experience, but also multiplies our resolve to proceed unrelentingly along the path of restructuring.

We welcome the stand of the CPSU expressed by Comrade M. Gorbachev that the Soviet Union is firmly resolved to advance along the path of restructuring, and that it would be a grave mistake not only to look back, but even to temporarily halt the progress along the chosen path.

As is known, our party leadership expressed its great appreciation for the recent Bulgarian-Soviet summit talks and mapped out essential measures for the practical implementation of the conclusions drawn from them.

Experience from life has confirmed that **as regards the main and basic issues, the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union and our own strategic progress coincide.** We could hardly imagine restructuring in our country without the achievements marked in the Soviet Union following the 27th CPSU Congress.

Along with this, in proceeding along the path of restructuring we cannot fail to consider the existing international relations.

—The world is both complicated and dynamic, and the restructuring of socialist society is part of its **necessary renewal.**

1. On the Practical Implementation of the Principles of the July Concept

The **decisive issue** of our work following the July Plenum is how the principles of the adopted concept should be transformed into active policy, into a policy of innovative practical work. The period that elapsed since that plenum was not long, but nevertheless, it permits us to make an assessment:

—The path of transforming our theoretical concept into active policy and of transforming policy into practical work is difficult and complicated. It is even often accompanied by delusions and mistakes.

Following the July 1987 Plenum, we took up the solution of numerous urgent problems without which we could not have advanced.

—We began by building up the **foundations of self-management** in the economic sphere.

—We carried out a reform in the **territorial-administrative system.**

—We eliminated **numerous ministries**, an act which helped us to make an important step forward in restructuring our **political superstructure.**

—We carried out considerable work in shaping and implementing our views on the **development of intellectual life** in our society. We are planning to hold congresses of national education, of sciences, of higher education, and culture.

—We began to **restructure our party** with the purpose of achieving a **separation** of its functions from the functions of state and economic organs, and with the purpose of reducing and innovating the **party apparatus**, and so forth.

Along with this, despite the fact that our country's overall development proceeded without any political and socioeconomic upheavals, the very process of restructuring came across serious difficulties and did not mark any significant progress.

—Despite the theoretical stability of the restructuring process, despite the changes in the consciousness of our party and our society, some of the processes subsided after the first impetus.

There is even more: Alarming problems emerged. The opportunities in launching the restructuring were gradually diminished. Numerous unresolved problems began to assume a **political connotation.**

—All these things were reflected in the **social atmosphere** and in the processes related to the people's **alienation** from the means of production and from the government organs.

In the final account, we were unable to make a significant breakthrough in any sector of our work, nor in the spirit of the new views and postulates. All this happened despite the subjective readiness of the party and of the overwhelming majority of cadres for profound changes.

We should admit that this fact was not only established, but also profoundly analyzed by the Central Committee, and by the Politburo in particular.

The practical experience we have so far accumulated confirms that at least three Gordian knots should be cut in this connection.

The first of these Gordian knots existing in our country is related to the economic and political reform.

The concept which we parted from envisages that these two reforms should be implemented in unity, even in a synthesis.

This, however, was not achieved in practice. We did not succeed in reaching the **commodity producers**, we did not reach the people in the places where they live and work, and where the social problems exist. No matter how hard we tried to adapt the old hierarchy to the new conditions, this **did not produce** and could not produce the required results. A **disproportion** between the political and economic reform was allowed to occur.

It turned out that we cannot make a breakthrough by starting from "the top," with the old bureaucratic structures.

—The main task was, in the first place, to reshape the structures, namely those structures within which the real vital processes, the processes of the people's reproduction and self-assertion are taking place.

This was the first Gordian knot that had to be cut.

The second Gordian knot is related to the fact that it was necessary to overcome the worship of economic management mechanisms in our national economy which had been implanted in our consciousness over several decades.

—Until recently, this mechanism was promoted to the rank of a real object of worship in our economic life. We based ourselves on the circumstance that it was sufficient to accomplish changes in the mechanism, without affecting the production relations and the existing economic conditions as a whole.

—In the course of restructuring, however, the experience of life has confirmed the correctness of the thesis that, regardless of how important the mechanism may be, the decisive requirement is to attain production relations.

In this connection, we concentrated our efforts on the search for certain forms of setting up production relations that should conform to the present conditions, forms aimed at overcoming the people's alienation and stimulating their interest in the effective management of socialist property.

The fact that we adopted a new approach to the nationwide, collective, and individual interests is very significant.

—We realize that we cannot expect a repeat of the same revolutionary enthusiasm which manifested itself in the past in the epoch of the revolution and following the 1956 April plenum.

—In view of this, we assigned ourselves the tasks of expanding the creative potential of the individual and of intensifying his working and social activities, hence the decisive role played by individual interests.

—It is our task to implement social and collective interests through individual interests, and this is the core of the present approach which we are trying to apply.

In addition to this, we are expected to overcome another fetish—namely the method of regarding production relations outside their dialectical connection and unity with the productive forces.

—We assessed the following fact: The numerous shortcomings of which we were guilty in the past were related to the erroneous thesis that production relations cannot outstrip productive forces, that they cannot be "designed" and "redesigned" without considering the degree of development of productive forces.

—This created conditions of subjectivism and voluntarism, of chaos related to the economic mechanism and to the effect of the subjective factor.

It is for this reason that, in searching for an opportunity to bring about a breakthrough in economic restructuring

and in social life as a whole, we went back to Marx's postulate on productive forces being the decisive factor.

—To put it more precisely, we concluded that, unless we take this factor into consideration in selecting new forms of management and organization, these forms would be suspended in the air and create additional difficulties for us.

This was the second Gordian knot we were expected to cut.

The third Gordian is related to the place and role of the so-called external factor of our development.

It is unnecessary to prove that we also considered this factor in the past, especially when it was related to socialist economic integration, to our cooperation with the Soviet Union, and to our participation in the international division of labor.

—This will be a decisive trend in our future development.

Along with this, we began analyzing this question from the point of view of the new political thinking, from the point of view of restructuring, and from the positions of the fundamental changes that are taking place in the contemporary world under the influence of scientific-technical revolution.

—We established the fact that a new historical meaning has developed in the world today, the essence of which is contained in the new stage of productive forces, in scientific-technical progress, in organization, in administration, and so forth.

—New elements which are the results of universal human experience and of the whole of civilization are emerging within the orbit of this historical essence.

—Regardless of the fact that some of these new elements developed first in Western society, they are an asset of all mankind and of all countries and peoples.

Hence, our orientation to an approach that gives us access to the values of contemporary civilization in the form of technology and experience, in the form of knowledge, and in the form of organizational, and administrative skills.

Without our adaptation to all this we could hardly imagine our progress, and the construction of a modern material and technical base, in particular, would be unthinkable.

—We pay particular attention to this question in both our economic and our ideological policy, to the extent to which part of our cadres are not prepared for their access to contemporary civilization in all advanced countries.

In spite of all this, we shall further proceed along this path.

—This path coincides with the fact that we are expected to cover our historical path as a country and as a

society, that we are expected to repeat the experience of industrially and technologically more advanced countries, instead of trying to skip certain stages of development.

—In view of this fact we are reviewing some of our party's postulates related to the stages of development of socialist society in our country.

This is what we had in mind by analyzing the reasons for the fact that, quite a long time after having embarked upon the path of restructuring, we still failed to accomplish a considerable breakthrough in our economy and in other spheres.

—The analysis of this process is a difficult task.

—Research work based on new points of view is required in this respect.

We attach the necessary importance to the December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee held in 1988.

—We see the importance of this plenum in the fact that it disclosed the practical aspects of our July Plenum postulates on restructuring and mapped out methods and means for the practical implementation of these postulates.

We are gaining confidence that, through implementing company-based organization, we will be able successfully to resolve the following triple task of restructuring. This task requires us:

—To create conditions for radically overcoming the people's alienation from production means;

—To confront our economic organizations with the criteria and requirements of the world economy and of the international market;

—To make questions of technical renewal become second nature and an essential requirement for the commodity producers.

On the other hand, a basic principle should be established in building up the companies, namely the principle that socialist property and all its great variety of management forms should be one indivisible unity.

As a result of this, we implemented, or are in the process of implementing important changes in the period following the BCP Central Committee July Plenum.

—We accomplished a transition from theoretical to practical policy, to direct actions related to the implementation of our plans for a comprehensive restructuring of society.

We can say without exaggerating that we chose the correct path, that it is our innermost theoretical and practical conviction to have successfully built the first stage of our new socialist construction based on the foundations of the July Concept.

—This is the context in which we placed the fundamental problems of economic restructuring and according to which we proceeded in solving them.

Regardless of the complexity of the problems in question, regardless of the existing difficulties, our general line cannot be different. Experience from life will certainly impose some other changes in specific areas and details, but the task of constructing this particular story of our new socialist building is of immediate significance for the general progress of our development, in creating conditions for the people's common enthusiasm and confidence in the correctness of party policy.

In devoting our efforts and attention to these trends, we should simultaneously think about how to build the next story and the roof of our construction.

—This should not be a less complicated task. The search for new models that fully correspond to the new conditions under which we are living and developing will be required in this respect.

—It is, however, evident that this task should not be postponed. It is directly linked to the further practical implementation of the December Plenum decisions and to the comprehensive implementation of the July Concept.

What is the real problem in this respect?

The real problem is the requirement to specify what changes we intend to introduce in our political system, in the structure and methods of the government's and the party's functioning, and how we intend to develop the political reform, as well as how we are planning to adapt this reform to restructuring in our socioeconomic and cultural life.

As we see, we are facing the task of expanding restructuring in other directions and of enriching its essence and forms.

In the final account, we are pursuing the following goal:

—**The goal of a transition to a correct socialist basis in both the economic and social spheres, and in intellectual life.**

Yes, it is no more and no less than a question of correct socialist foundations.

All the theoretical and practical experience we have accumulated since the July Plenum, and both our successes and our shortcomings should be transformed into creative energy, into an unprecedented elan of practical effort.

For this reason our present slogan can only be the following: **To carry out an offensive on the entire restructuring front and to mobilize the entire restructuring front for such an offensive.**

Along with all this, we should keep in mind the fact that we have recently been working in a complicated situation, as a result of our relations with the Republic of Turkey.

It is an undeniable fact that, in the spirit of the Vienna agreements and in connection with the newly adopted laws, we acted correctly in granting the descendants of the Islamized Bulgarians free travel to Turkey, and even permitting them to remain there.

However, we are witnessing efforts aimed at the political destabilization of our society, which are taking advantage of the so-called Muslim question.

—It is significant that, as a result of this, our country was involved in a powerful, patriotic upsurge and our people's unity was consolidated.

The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the relevant, competent organs are permanently analyzing these processes and adopting the necessary measures on which you are being briefed in a timely way.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to promote its constructive policy of understanding and cooperation, aimed the settlement of controversial questions thorough dialogue and in the spirit of the new political thinking.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo, the state and social organs, and organizations, the party, and the entire material, political, and cultural potential of our society will be mobilized so that they may cope in a timely way with the urgent tasks of evaluating the problems related to our domestic affairs and to the international situation.

2. Along the Path of Fundamental Economic Restructuring

In our economic restructuring we shall be guided by the Marxist-Leninist postulate that the economic sphere is of decisive importance and that, in the final analysis, the rates and opportunities of renewal in our comprehensive social life depend on economic results.

—We are well aware that, in order to achieve the goals assigned to us on the basis of the July Concept, we need a decisive impetus in the development of productive forces and appropriate changes in production relations.

—It is only on this basis that we can guarantee a new upsurge in the social sphere and in the intellectual development of society, that we can build up strong and viable social communities among the population.

This is precisely the reason why economic problems are permanently the focus of attention for our party and state leadership, and for the entire people.

Considering the basic results of economic development from the beginning of the current 5-year plan period, we can definitely say that the rates at which we are advancing are satisfactory.

—Over the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan period the relative drop in the economic growth which manifested itself in the previous years was compensated for.

—The annual average increase in the national income produced during the 3 years under review amounted to approximately 5.6 percent and entirely resulted from the growth of social labor productivity.

—According to preliminary data, a high rate of growth of the national income and of social labor productivity is mapped out for 1989.

—Investment activities, average labor wages, and social consumption funds also marked high rates of growth throughout the last 4 years of the current 5-year plan period.

Rates of growth are important to us and they are also satisfactory, but it is twice as important to discover what is behind the rates of growth, what their essence is, and where the resources for real restructuring and economic renewal are being invested.

At the end of the current 5-year plan period today, we should analyze the real processes, along with their positive and negative features, and we should do so in the critical and self-critical spirit that characterizes our party, in order to prepare for the forthcoming period which we, all of us, and the entire people are awaiting with great expectations.

On the development of productive forces:

In accordance with contemporary realities in the development of worldwide scientific-technical progress, we have reached the conclusion that **implementing the method of technological production is a decisive prerequisite for our further progress.**

Accordingly, the resources for technological modernization as a whole are focused on economic branches and production sectors that are of priority significance for our national economy, while more considerable attention is devoted to the auxiliary branches. At the same time, technology transfer from leading countries and companies is expanding.

—There is also an increase in additional profits resulting from newly introduced and modernized production that is a result of technical innovations.

Special attention should be devoted to the **strategy for obtaining additional mass consumer goods** which was introduced at the beginning of 1989 and which will be completed in 1990, with the aim of drastically increasing the production of important everyday goods which are in short supply, and at improving consumer services. **Along with the positive results, we should not neglect the fact**

that the current technological modernization is limited to a great extent within the framework of the existing economic structures.

In this connection the inevitable conclusion emerges that **our economic prosperity is determined by the unity and mutual interdependence between structural restructuring, technological renewal, and industrial production-sharing with advanced countries and leading companies.**

—Numerous necessary prerequisites were established in recent years enabling us to make an important step forward in this direction by relying on the external factor in restructuring the technological structures.

Our policy of production-sharing and cooperation within the framework of the socialist community and our participation in the worldwide economic division of labor confirmed its vital strength and is already producing positive results.

—Bulgaria was one of the first countries to establish joint enterprises with the Soviet Union.

Along with this, without underestimating the opportunities for production-sharing with our partners from the USSR and other socialist countries, we are relying on the expansion of direct contacts with non-socialist countries. In this respect, new opportunities that should be used in a flexible and effective manner emerged in recent years.

—Numerous joint enterprises, firms, and shareholder companies with the participation of well-known companies from the United States, the UK, the FRG, France, Italy, and others have already been set up.

On the establishment of company-based organization in the economic sector:

Immediately following the BCP Central Committee December Plenum, extensive activities started in connection with **the establishment of the company-based organization of our national economy**, in accordance with our main line of policy in pursuing the fulfillment of the plenum decisions.

—That was a fundamentally new task, involving great responsibility, that was of exceptional importance for the circumstances existing in our country.

What are the inevitable conclusions from the work accomplished to date?

The establishment of companies **involved the efforts and interests** not only of the competent central and local organs. The views, ambitions, and aspirations of broad strata of our population were invested in this work and the labor collectives discussed the problems related to this cause.

—The **basic structure** of the companies has already been established in the main industrial branches.

—A **legislative basis for the management of companies** is already in preparation.

The first important stage of economic restructuring based on the principles of company organization was already implemented by mapping out the companies' structures and by registering them.

—This stage of the companies' development can be evaluated positively, because the main problem was resolved in the course of implementing this stage. The foundations for a company-based model of economic management were thus established, and this model will be applied to other spheres of social life, in accordance with their specific features.

The particular nature of the present stage of development lies in the fact that we are facing the task of promoting company-based organization to a new stage which is no less important and significant from the point of view of the internal logic related to the new model, as well as from the point of view of the requirement to promote the development of companies on a domestic and foreign-trade scale, which applies in particular to those companies that already have such opportunities.

What is the chief requirement demanding that we should deal with this problem, which is the most important of all the problems today?

The main problem is that we have not yet "untied the hands and feet" of the companies, that the present mechanisms can hardly stimulate the forces of the new economic structure on either a domestic or an international scale.

—As early as at the beginning of our efforts to build up the companies, we were guided by the principle that they are not only a **new form of management under our circumstances**, but that they represent a qualitatively **new and substantial element** in our restructuring. The implementation and application of new mechanisms which are supporting the new substance turned out to be a **complicated and difficult process**. Numerous **present mechanisms** should be regarded as **experiments**, at best.

Although the experience we have acquired to date is still limited, it shows that the company-based organization and numerous principles of the current economic management system are simply **generic antipodes** and that if this situation persists, **the present difficulties** would increase and the company-based organization would be **compromised**, while its **real potential** could be jeopardized.

—The company-based organization revealed a series of shortcomings affecting our economic mechanism, shortcomings which are constantly reproducing structural disproportions, an extensive method of industrial development, phenomena of market shortages, and so forth.

It is evident that, under the conditions in the current stage, we should resolutely reject some outdated ideas which no longer apply to the new requirements, we should intensify

national economic restructuring in accordance with the company principles, and attain qualitatively new economic and social growth by doing away with the practice of improvised decisions which are in contradiction with the idea behind the establishment of company-based organization, and with State Council Decree No. 56.

—It is necessary to accomplish a breakthrough in our industrial sector on this basis. Along with this, we should further intensify our breakthrough in the agricultural sector, where the necessary conditions for this already exist.

We are talking about a stage of fundamental changes both in productive forces and in the entire system of production relations; it is a question of changes which do not simply affect, but which highly promote interests at all levels and in all structures within the social organism; it is a question of creating an appropriate economic environment to guarantee such changes under the conditions of company-based organization.

In this connection, the Politburo discussed basic trends for the further development of company-based organization in the national economy and mapped out the necessary conditions for a radical change.

—This relates to certain trends and postulates which apply to the economic and to all other spheres of life, including social and intellectual life, by taking into account their special characteristic features.

The first question is related to the role of the state in national economic management under the circumstances of company-based organization.

What is the basic issue in this respect?

The basic issue is that, under the new conditions, our socialist state—which is intended to be developed as a state of self-managing communities—cannot be a bureaucratic "umbrella" to which our civic society should be subject.

The state cannot represent such a bureaucratic umbrella for the company-based organizations either.

This is one aspect of the question.

The other aspect is that the state should be present at the "point of departure" and at the "point of exit" of each self-managing community, including the companies and their associations.

—This is a new type of hierarchy whose activities in the economic and all other spheres are subject to the law as the only force promoting such activities.

It is from this position that, in implementing the postulates on the role of strategic state leadership, we should proceed toward comprehensively restructuring the mechanisms of state supervision of the national economy.

1. The Taxation System Will Be One of the Basic Levers of State Supervision Of Economic Affairs in the Future.

In this connection we are planning to introduce a comprehensive taxation reform intended to provide for the following measures:

—Guaranteeing the interests of society as a whole, and protecting the interests of the companies and individual citizens;

—Preserving the unity of the principles of taxation and equal economic conditions for the activities of companies under different forms of ownership, overcoming monopolism, and promoting competition among companies;

—Creating real prerequisites for effective and expanded reproduction [vuzproyvozdstvo] and structural restructuring of the economy in accordance with the goals mapped out on a national level.

An important prerequisite for the effective impact of the taxation system at the "point of departure" and "point of exit" of each company structure will be represented by the penalizing influence of the taxation system aimed at preventing a speculative increase of profits and labor wage resources resulting from an increase in purchase prices above the limits set by the state.

One of the most essential changes at which the taxation system is aimed is to enhance the role and importance of the local taxation system for the benefit of social development projects and to coordinate local budget policy with the interests of the population, and mobilize and utilize the resources of local companies and citizens resident in the relevant territories for such purposes.

The transition to uniform, progressive taxation of the income and property of citizens on the basis of their total annual income is proposed.

2. The Following Issue, Related to Convertible Leva Currency and Changes in the Rate of Exchange Is Very Important For the Further Development of Company-Based Organization

—Without such measures it would be impossible for us to consolidate our economy on a domestic and international level. For this reason we are already preparing for the aforementioned changes. It is proposed to introduce, as soon as possible, cost accounting that is also based on the convertible leva.

3. The Introduction of Market Elements on a Larger Scale In Our Overall Economy and In All Its Sectors, Where Economic Activities Are Evaluated on the Basis of Domestic Leva Currency, Will Be Initiated Through the Levers of Price Policy.

—The state is expected to settle economic processes through price control, through the purpose-oriented

regulation of material resources and balances, through state orders, customs duties, and other economic levers.

- It has been decided that, as early as 1990, a resolute step forward will be taken in eliminating subsidies and allocations from the budget stemming from price disproportions.

4. A Basically New Approach To Planning the State Budget and To Expenditures of State Budget Resources Will Be Developed for the Following Purposes:

- For a substantial reduction of the redistribution processes in the economic sphere and of redistribution between republican and local budgets;
- For a radical change in planning budget expenditures.

This is how **anonymity** will be removed from the budget and a drastic reduction in non-productive expenditures, especially expenditures related to the maintainance of administrative bodies, will be achieved by closing down redundant administrative institutions and eliminating unnecessary structures.

The second question of key importance for company-based organization and for the progress of restructuring in general terms is related to the practical operation of shareholder companies.

The increasing attention we devote to this question is justified.

- The shareholder principle is one of the basic levers for **combining** production means with the individual interests of direct producers, for **overcoming** the existing alienation of the people from property, for **increasing** the sum total of labor [masata na truda], and so forth.
- Under socialist economic conditions this principle has been invested with an invaluable **economic, social, and ideological** potential that should be mobilized.

A gradual transformation of state property companies into shareholder companies is under way in this connection. This process shall **expand** to also involve the participation of shareholders investing **foreign capital**.

- The fact that the shareholder principle will be applied to establish the foundations for stimulating the economic interests of **powerful corporations** is of particular importance.
- This is how opportunities of achieving successes—which a company would never be able to do by itself on the **domestic or international** markets—will be **multiplied**.

In this connection, conditions are emerging for a new type of production-sharing among commodity producers, for rationalizing management, and reducing

expenditures in this sphere, for the concentration and specialization of production on the basis of economic incentives.

The third question is related to the companies' loss of anonymity.

This is a question of principle at the present stage of our development. It has to be resolved in three directions:

- On the one hand, each company, on the basis of the technology it applies for a given operation, should release the entire reproduction process and the participating individual workers, designers, technological experts, administrative personnel, and managers from their anonymity and thus establish an individual wage scale, as well as an individual system of evaluating the efforts of individual brigades, workshops, and plants.
- On the other hand, for the companies an abandoning of anonymity means that they should, so to speak, establish their own identity and introduce themselves to the market and to their customers, as well as to the whole of society by submitting their own programs and by showing the real results of their work.

- In the third place, abandoning anonymity means restructuring the companies' foreign economic relations and encouraging them to open up to the world and to meet worldwide economic criteria.

The successful implementation of the new approach to state administration and supervision of the economic sphere should accordingly be prepared on a legal basis.

- In this context it would be appropriate to accelerate the preparation of a whole **package of draft laws** that should be submitted to the National Assembly for discussion and approval.

At the same time, it is necessary to prepare and organize the congress of commodity producers who are expected to establish their own union.

3. On Enhancing the Role of Territorial Communities.

Restructuring in this sphere is under way. A great deal has been accomplished in this respect and the restructuring process is already producing results.

First. The reform accomplished in the organization of the country's territorial settlement provided, on the one hand, the premises for the establishment of municipalities as self-managing territorial communities and, on the other hand, for the effective functioning of large territorial complexes ensuring a harmonious development of productive forces and territorial infrastructures, in order to comprehensively resolve the social and cultural problems of the population.

- The decision adopted by the National Assembly, stipulating that the municipality should be a basic administrative-social unit and a self-managing territorial

community, while its inhabitants should be the masters of their respective territory, was specifically expressed through the legal-normative system based on the Code for the Self-Management of Territorial Communities that was adopted by the Council of Ministers.

The rights of communities to independently settle the basic problems related to the work and life of the local population were increased on this basis. The same applies to the construction of technical and social infrastructures; urbanization and development of inhabited settlements; housing; retail trade; everyday services, and health care; education; and to economic development, use of territorial resources, protection of social interests, citizens' rights, law and order, and the improvement of territorial administration, all of which are within the competence of the communities.

Second. We began to assert the principle of the municipalities' self-sufficiency and self-financing. According to this principle, the municipal people's councils are entitled to adopt budgets on the basis of revenues from the national economy and the population, determined by the Council of Ministers. The municipalities can also adopt long-term norms for supporting and developing their activities on the basis of differentiated groups of municipalities.

This is reflected by changes in the planning and implementation of the people's councils' budgets, adopted over the 1987-1989 period.

—The total volume of the budgets of the people's councils increased from 4,460,400 leva to 5,408,400 leva, or by 21.3 percent.

The revenues of the municipalities increased from 3,559,300 leva to 4,605,900 leva, or by 29.4 percent.

The number of self-sufficient municipal people's councils increased from 48 in 1988 to 87 in 1989.

Third. Relations between municipalities and companies were established on an economic basis. The basic deductions to the benefit of municipalities from the profits of companies increased from 5 to 10 percent, while an additional amount of over 400 million leva was added to the municipal budgets in 1989.

Placing socialist property projects and installations under the management and administration of municipal people's councils, as well as state property for the establishment of companies, plays a substantial role in asserting territorial self-management.

—All basic funds of local industry, trade, communal economy, and urbanization, as well as part of the construction activities and the entire social sphere were transferred to the municipalities as their own property.

—The economic power of the municipalities shall be further expanded.

Fourth. The rights and responsibilities of the townships for independently solving the problems of inhabited settlements have increased.

The new competences of townships are primarily related to the development of comprehensive services for the people, construction, urbanization, and sanitation; coordination and monitoring of the use of local resources, economic self-sufficiency; law and order; protection of public and individual property; and defense of the citizens' rights and interests.

—The competences of townships with a population of over 4,000 inhabitants and of townships in the cities considerably increased.

Along with this, the socialist state devotes greater care and attention to the consolidation of small and border-area territorial communities.

New functions were transferred to the oblast people's councils, including rights and responsibilities which had previously been within the competence of the Council of Ministers, of ministries, and other departments, but this does not affect the rights and responsibilities of townships and municipalities.

It appears from the aforementioned facts that the municipalities and townships already hold important levers permitting them to administer their territories, and this increasingly confirms the postulate of the transition from government in the name of the people to government exercised by the people.

The style and working methods of the people's councils are changing. Initiative and independent work has increased in the organs of the people's councils, which is an important prerequisite for the assertion of the people's power.

All this is satisfactory, but it is only an initial phase in establishing a civic society in terms of its territorial-settlement structure.

The task of the municipalities is to reproduce social life as comprehensively and independently as possible in the economic, political, and cultural spheres.

—This by no means signifies that municipalities should be closed and isolated communities. They should have broad access to the achievements of the respective oblasts, of the state, and of the whole contemporary world.

—Only in doing this can a mature social life develop within the framework of the municipality, based on the principles of self-management.

This further means that the municipalities should create an intellectual cohesion among people and inspire all their inhabitants with civic consciousness in the full sense of this concept.

- The municipalities should revive the Bulgarian people's centuries-old traditions, our ancient and new holidays, and customs, and rituals, all those national traditions in the people's life which contribute to their moral and cultural unity.
- All channels for the influence of our socialist culture should be opened in the municipalities by establishing conditions for introducing all our valuable assets and cultural achievements and making them part of the people's everyday life and consciousness.
- Last but not least, we should point out that the municipality is a natural environment in which people should be educated in a spirit of civic virtues in the broad sense of this word.

This means, in the final account, that municipalities should guarantee a minimum of the conditions which an individual requires in order to display all his strength and talents.

- We are talking about man's comprehensive self-assertion, his assertion as a worker, a creative personality, and a consumer.
- We are talking about man's intellectual and physical health, about the comprehensive development of the entire people and of every single individual.

Considering all this, it is very important to develop a correct municipal and settlement structure in our country.

- One must not allow medium-sized and large cities to "suppress" the small municipalities and settlements.
- We should not permit the oblasts to develop according to the model of the former okrugs.
- Oblasts, municipalities, and settlements should all develop according to the requirements of civic society. This, however, means giving priority to initiative, to the variety of the people's life, and to everyone's civic consciousness and self-confidence.

4. On the Development and Implementation of a Social Policy in Accordance With the New Realities and Tasks.

The course of restructuring and the accomplishment of the tasks that are waiting to be solved in all spheres require that the question of man, of his development and self-assertion and the question of the greater attraction of the socialist way of life should be dealt with from a principally new point of view.

During the period of restructuring we also did not underestimate the issues of social policy:

- The line of developing public funds in all spheres continued.
- We introduced new wages for people working in education, engineering-technical cadres, and health-care workers.

- Certain categories of pensions were brought into line with the new indexes and standards of living.
- New directions in restructuring health care were asserted and acute problems in the material basis in this sphere were resolved.
- We are preparing the necessary measures for improving the birthrate and the demographic structure.

Despite the difficulties, we devote constant attention to the **consumer goods market**. We are aware of the shortage of certain goods, the unsatisfactory state and level of services, and so forth.

Those issues have not been underestimated up to now. We periodically return to them and try to solve them, but the results are unsatisfactory. Obviously, the task is to proceed in several directions and reach the root of things—the profound relation between the economy and the people's social needs, and the comprehensive transformation of the present structure of the national economy.

We intend to comprehensively work out the fundamental issues of the social sphere. We base ourselves on several considerations:

The first is that social problems are of exceptional importance in the general scheme of restructuring.

The second consideration is that we must find sufficiently reliable solutions in safeguarding the Bulgarian citizens' social achievements and improving the standard of living in our country, especially after the National Assembly adopted appropriate amendments to our legislature in the spirit of the Vienna agreements.

The third consideration is that we must even more prove that the socialist manner of living gives man new possibilities to grow, develop, and progress. We must do this not through administrative measures, but by acting on an economic basis.

In short—we aim at a social policy that will become to a greater degree the cause of the people, the labor collectives, the territorial social communities, and the civic society. It affects the interest of everyone and teaches the people a new attitude toward labor, society, and the motherland.

In this context, we must effect changes in several directions.

First of all, legal decisions and documents that we adopt and will adopt in restructuring the social sphere must facilitate a maximal increase in the labor and creative activity of our millions of people and develop the interest in solving problems in the economic and other spheres.

The main factor here is to rely on the principles of company-based organization and, mainly, on developing the shareholding principle in solving social problems.

—On that basis, through the system of shares and bonds, and by participating in shareholders' associations of a social nature, every worker could personally contribute to solving his own social problems wherever he lives and works.

Through the system of shares and bonds the workers, agrarian workers, employees, and specialists in all spheres will be given the possibility to participate in determining and increasing:

- the amount of their pensions;
- the extent of their social security in cases of temporary disability and requalification;
- the scope and quality of health protection services, and so forth.

All this will be achieved through the shareholders' funds in which they participate, as an "addition" to the social privileges that they are guaranteed by the state.

In the second place **Bulgarian citizens will obtain equal opportunities in accordance with their personal contribution; maximal access to health-care services, education, and so forth; full rights in acquiring and utilizing dwellings and other real estate; and equal rights to participate in developing socialist property through labor shares and other securities, to engage in labor readjustment, and so forth.**

- People who have not been certified by our laws as Bulgarian citizens and who do not recognize those laws must have minimum rights and security.

Such are the laws of every modern state. The competent organs must most carefully study and work out the issues with a view to bringing the legal norms in this sphere to the appropriate level.

In the third place. Social policy, under the conditions of company-based organization and based on personal interest and the participation of the socialist state, must guarantee a much more reliable unity of socialist property.

The decisive control levers—the management of the process of distributing the economic results and social assets, and real power in all shareholding forms of a social character—must be in the hands of the Bulgarian citizens and state.

Simultaneously, the legal order must stimulate those of our citizens who are working abroad to preserve their social security on Bulgarian territory and contribute their means to developing and enriching the social funds.

In conclusion we can point out: **We have every possibility to conduct a social policy with even more reliable guarantees for socialist property, and with even greater stimuli for developing the interests of all Bulgarian citizens and the self-managing communities, wherever the people live**

and work, so that our people can develop and express themselves under the new conditions as creators, workers, and consumers.

II.

On Changes in the Constitution and in the BCP Statute

Comrades, as is well-known, the July Concept and the documents of the BCP National Conference contain the fundamental premises that our party has in mind in carrying out the restructuring of the political system.

- Experience until now confirms the correctness of those premises. Relying on them, we must assess what new elements must be introduced and implemented in practice.

The fact that we are adopting fundamentally new fulcrums is the decisive element in our approach. Why? Because the present changes in our political system cannot be merely reviewed as changes that are prompted by the requirements of a certain stage of our social development. **Our premise concerning a new model of socialism also requires that the restructuring of our political system be viewed in a completely new manner.**

Many essential issues emerge in this sphere. They relate to the Constitution and the party Statute.

In this context the Politburo proposed to the Central Committee a discussion on fundamental viewpoints that would be presented to the commission on the Constitution and the commission on the Statute, that we must elect at the present plenum.

Taking into consideration the fact that both commissions must prepare comprehensive proposals, obviously the Central Committee proposals must not exhaust or predetermine the questions.

1. On Changes in the Political System and Their Reflection in the Constitution]

Our intention to construct a new model of socialism, more specifically, a civic society of the socialist type, is an integral part of the effort to develop the political system on the basis of the new visions related to:

- implementing the fundamental principles of restructuring, related to **socialist property, self-management, and democratic centralism; asserting a new type of unity between the all-peoples', collective, and individual interests; and the party's vanguard role, which at the present stage is no longer a "floor" in state management;**
- the place and role of the **legal superstructure** in the system of our social life, where everything is placed upon and regulated on the basis of the legal system, on the basis of the law.
- developing and strengthening the process of socialist democracy, glasnost, pluralism, and people's government.

By effecting the changes in the Constitution we shall reveal broad horizons for rapidly solving the political reform's pressing problems, and binding this system to the tasks of economic restructuring.

The changes in the Constitution will represent a significant contribution to our efforts to activate the **main mode of restructuring**, i.e., the mechanism of cooperation between politics and the economy, and between the political and economic reforms.

The changes in the Constitution must guarantee the following factors:

- Constructing a **rich and vital civic society** in our country, which will rely on the **independent activity** of the self-governing **social communities** that are entrusted with new rights, obligations, and responsibilities in solving the **entire aggregate** of economic, social, cultural, and other issues;
- Gradually applying the principle of **advancing** from management in the name of the people toward management through the people, based on social self-government;
- Creating a new **structure of government** and the accompanying **hierarchy of government**, which will be relieved of bureaucratic distortions, controlled by society, and will function with the active participation of the people's masses;
- Perfecting the **socialist state** as a state with new-type **social communities**;
- Comprehensively enriching the "**second nature**" of the socialist political system through restructuring the **public organizations and movements**;

Comprehensively **developing** and fully allowing people to assert their **potential** under conditions of **rights, freedoms, and responsibilities** that are inherent to socialist democracy and legal order, and contemporary human civilization.

In other words, the changes in the Constitution must: insert qualitative changes into the entire political system; lead toward the establishment of new models of constructing and activating all governmental structures; ensure political culture and a work style that can satisfy the present and future requirements; and attract the people and the working people to active political life, based on socialist pluralism and broad glasnost in anything related to issues of internal and international policy.

Guaranteeing **rights and freedoms** to all citizens in accordance with the values of **socialism and modern civilization**—this is the purpose of the changes in the Constitution.

An important aspect of restructuring the political system and one which is related to the changes in the Constitution affects the governmental organs.

The **basic principle** upon which they must restructure is formulated in the July Concept.

—This is the principle whereby, **if all the communities of people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are self-managing entities, the organs of the government can exist only as organs of people's self-management.**

Self-management—this is the driving mechanism of the civic society, and its political, economic, and moral foundation.

This concept must be based on a developed system of guarantees related to democratic political life and a fundamentally new **distribution of power in society.**

We have the necessary preparation for such a system.

The new constitution must further herald the **principle of separating the functions between the party and state government, on the one side, and the representatives of the executive and judicial organs on the other.**

—Only in this manner can we renew the socialist law-governed state, which expresses the people's sovereignty and is an organ of the civic society, rather than a force that has alienated itself from that society and opposes it.

Democratic centralism acquires new dimensions under conditions of self-management.

—Self-management requires the decentralization of many state activities, in which the center of power is transferred to the foundation of the social pyramid.

The new contents of the functions of the socialist state logically require the assertion of significant changes in the system of state organs and their organization, competence, approaches, and methods of work.

This is the source of the qualitatively new requirements, more specifically, in determining the structure, status, and functions of the National Assembly.

We are unanimous that it is now necessary to adopt serious measures and increase the role of the National Assembly as a supreme organ of government.

—We encountered this necessity earlier, and especially in recent years.

—In accordance with this, and on the initiative of the Politburo, serious efforts were made to improve the activity of the National Assembly and its commissions.

—However, all this was implemented on the basis of an obsolete model of the National Assembly, which inevitably had its weak points.

—The new model that we need requires significant changes in the entire legal superstructure and, more specifically, in the Constitution.

Obviously, further constructing the National Assembly as a "working corporation" must be the basic direction of restructuring the National Assembly.

—The contents that Marx invested in this concept, was coordinated with the experience of the Paris Commune, and this experience is insufficient for the construction of a modern parliamentary system.

—Today the issue of the unity and separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers is posed in a new manner.

In addition, we must find a successful form of combining the interests of the territorial and self-managing labor communities in the National Assembly's activity, whereby the people's representatives will be further elected by the people and will be responsible to their voters.

—The practice whereby the Council of Ministers and the ministries periodically or at the request of the people's representatives report to the National Assembly on their activity must be extended and must change its form.

The commissions, as the basic units of the National Assembly, must acquire fundamentally new powers and competences that will "cover" the entire sphere of their functions as a strategy for development and an instrument of control.

It is necessary to develop and introduce appropriate mechanisms for the real participation of the social factor (personified by the public organizations and movements) in the country's parliamentary life.

—It is necessary to develop new vision in distributing the functions in this sphere and giving all the power to the supreme state organ in the spirit of the new premises of the party and the role of the legal superstructure.

It will be necessary to make significant changes in the legal and political mechanism related to selecting the candidates for people's representatives and conducting elections, in order to form a National Assembly composition that would facilitate its vocation as a supreme representative organ.

Turning the National Assembly into a working corporation requires that one enhance professionalism in the work of the people's representatives and focus their attention mainly on the work of the National Assembly.

—The leadership of the National Assembly must carry out its functions in close cooperation with the leaderships of the parliamentary groups and permanent commissions.

We must again consider our position on the State Council.

By discussing and resolving all those issues against the background of our traditions and conditions, and the new requirements springing from restructuring, we will naturally take foreign experience into consideration, and especially the experience of the socialist countries.

—We could utilize many elements of the most modern Soviet practice in this sphere.

—Some solutions to this issue that have been adopted by other countries, Western countries included, are also interesting.

We are a small country that has historically tested experience in constructing the National Assembly which, after appropriate restructuring, will be able to satisfy the new requirements of rich and diversified parliamentary life.

There is no doubt that the issue of pluralism has a fundamental importance in further developing restructuring.

The BCP position on the issue of pluralism is well-known.

—The idea of pluralism is one of the leading ideas of the July Concept.

It is not superfluous to recall that during the years after the April plenum we developed specific forms of pluralism and accumulated certain experience.

What do I have in mind?

The fact that we have a two-party political system is the first factor that I have in mind.

Our common work and struggle with the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union and our fruitful cooperation in the name of our common goals, while observing the political independence of the two parties, is the foundation of this system.

Subsequently, I have in mind the so-called "second nature" of our society, which developed and continues to develop during the period of socialism.

First, the sociopolitical organizations and movements are the agents of this "second nature."

—Primarily, we must stress the historic role of the Fatherland Front in uniting the political forces in our country after 9 September 1944, upon the platform of our country's socialist future.

—We also must stress the Dimitrov Komsomol's road of combat and its merits for the cause of socialism.

—We cannot overlook the contribution of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Movement of Bulgarian Women, and so forth.

Second, the associations of creators in the fields of arts and science, and the great number of associations based

on the people's interests according to their personality and behavior are also agents of the "second nature" of socialism.

—Those are associations which to a large degree facilitate the development of real diversity in the social process, including in anything related to the population's participation in resolving ecological issues, and so forth.

Third Despite the fact that we, Communists, are atheists, a brightly expressed **religious pluralism** has always existed in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

These are facts related to our society that no impartial judge can deny.

—Realities must be admitted and society's experience must be taken into consideration if we are to advance further.

—This is how the Central Committee acted in placing political pluralism in the foundation of the July Concept.

Yes, the July Concept on restructuring in Bulgaria takes into consideration our experience in constructing the socialist society on the basis of political pluralism as a form of free expression of man as a person and citizen.

Furthermore, through the July Concept and the subsequent elaborations we reached the conclusion that restructuring our society is impossible without developing active **political pluralism**.

What are the **new and constituent** factors in our visions related to this issue?

—The new and constituent factors relate to the fact that we are striving to construct a **civic society of the socialist type**.

—The idea of civic society of the socialist type is this point of support that we need, in order to assume a correct position on the issue of **political pluralism as a need of civilized society**.

Without engaging in excessive theories in clarifying this issue, we must take the following factors into consideration in our practical work:

First, if until now the advantage was and still is on the side of the state, a completely opposite situation must emerge in the future.

—Society must ever more subjugate the state and turn it into an instrument for achieving society's goals and ideals.

The first steps that we undertook in implementing the July Concept are directed precisely in this direction.

—We turn the economic pyramid of society upside down by creating economic power for the citizens united in territorial, professional, and other communities.

The essential factor in this context is the new understanding of the concept of property and the course that we asserted in this sphere.

—While socialist property is uniform and indivisible, the forms of its management and social utilization are diverse.

—This means that conditions are being created for the diversity of interests and the implementation of those interests.

—Precisely this diversity will also allow a variety of forms of the people's political, creative, and other activities to be achieved.

It is on this foundation that we firmly base the development of a vital pluralism, which presupposes diversity of forms and informal associations, expressing different and alternative opinions.

Second, socialist civil society is a society of self-managing communities, and a free association of such communities.

This means that society must have principles and norms in order to apply **self-regulation** and **self-control**.

—Those principles and norms can be none other than socialist.

—Socialist principles and norms are a sufficiently reliable and rich platform for the full-fledged development of society and every citizen.

Naturally, those principles and norms require a "social contract." The Constitution must assume this task.

—Indeed, precisely through the Constitution we create the legal foundation of social pluralism.

—The constitution is the factor that outlines the restrictions that are necessary in every society, and that turn it into a society in the real sense of this word.

Therefore, organizations and associations, opinions and steps that contradict the Constitution are outside the needs of the civil society.

The status and functions of the other state organs of the government's higher level must improve.

This applies first of all to the **Council of Ministers**. Despite the fact that recently we succeeded to construct a model that basically comes close to our conceptual visions, many fundamental issues remain open.

—A governmental post or office in the state administration is incompatible with the deputy's mandate.

The organs of local self-management occupy an especially important place in society's political system.

The people's councils must also in future construct themselves and function as an integral part of the uniform system of the state government's representative organs and people's self-management in our country.

The townships will further construct themselves and develop as organs of the municipal people's councils and the population's self-management in the separate settlements. Their functions in resolving local issues and providing administrative-legal services to the population will expand.

Self-management in the municipalities must develop while broadly combining the direct and representative forms of implementing the state government.

We must resolve several important issues that relate to the organization and activity of the oblast people's councils.

The first issue relates to the order of forming the oblast people's councils.

If the oblast people's councils are organs that resolve the common problems of the municipalities, they must consist of representatives of those municipalities.

—Therefore, it would be purposeful that the oblast people's councils are composed by representatives of the municipalities elected by the municipal people's councils from the group of their people's advisers.

Thus the oblast people's council will turn into a democratically constructed association of the municipalities, which will work out the strategic directions of the oblast's socioeconomic and intellectual development, and will facilitate the development of self-management in the municipalities.

Our election system, as a basic element of socialist democracy, also must be improved in accordance with the requirements of restructuring.

—The first steps in this respect were conducted by the changes in the Election Law, that were adopted in 1987 by the National Assembly, and tested in the 1988 elections for people's councils.

The approaches, forms, and methods of work of the party organs and public organizations with the voters must fundamentally change. New criteria must be applied in proposing candidates for people's representatives and people's advisers.

Uniting the people around the ideas of socialist restructuring, adopting a specific program on developing separate municipalities and settlements, and searching for the most suitable candidates, who can organize the people for achieving the high goals, must become the main factors of the election campaign.

2. On the New Party Statute

Our understanding about the party is firmly based on the premise that the party is this vanguard political power which is historically called upon:

—To work out a political course on developing socialist society on the basis of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and study of objective conditions;

—and to conduct organization and cadre work in accordance with the principles of socialism and the requirements of the objective needs.

At the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum we adopted the crucial provision on eliminating the party's status as a "floor" in the hierarchy of state government.

On the basis of the July Concept premises and in accordance with the logic of restructuring, recently we are conducting important changes in the party.

—A process of really transferring the power to the local and central organs of management is under way.

—This process is especially evident in the activity of the townships of the municipal and oblast councils.

—Significant changes are taking place in the party organs' structure and apparatus.

Simultaneously, it must be noted that in many aspects this process is not taking place with the necessary elan and depth. We must take into consideration many negative phenomena in our party's life.

The main thing is to construct and develop the party's relations with the organs of state government and self-management not by administrative-command methods, but in accordance with the principles of political leadership.

—In determining its line it must rely on the broad support of the people.

—At the July plenum we pointed out that increasing the authority and power of the government means to ensure the decisive role of the millions of people in the government's functioning.

—Precisely this now is the center of redistributing the government rights and functions—their concentration in the labor collectives and territorial communities—where the creators of the material and intellectual assets are.

The changes we conducted in the attributes of government are also aimed at strengthening the government and turning it into a more dynamic entity.

Our party is a big, united, and combat-ready unit of our political system. Its traditions and historical contribution to creating modern Bulgaria logically assign to the party the role of vanguard political force in our society.

Responsibility for correcting and forming the political course, ideological and political-organizational work with the people, binding the party's everyday work to the most progressive tendencies and issues of our time—those are the main and decisive factors in the party's further work.

Those issues relate to the BCP Statute.

The necessity of conducting changes in the statutes was mentioned at the **BCP National Conference**.

- More specifically, it was agreed to introduce the **mandate principle** of electing leading cadres from the top to the bottom throughout the entire party structure.
- The introduction of the mandate system will ensure the **constant renewal** of leading cadres.
- Their development and movement will become a natural and painless process, without allowing cadres to remain at the same elective post. This will enhance the **authority and responsibility** of the leaders.

On the other hand, it is necessary to invoke certain premises that ensure:

- the new factors in the rights and responsibilities of the party to work out the foundations of the country's internal and foreign policy;
- the new factors in separating the functions of the state and party organs and organizations;
- the new factors in asserting democracy in internal party life (such as increasing the rights of individual Communists and primary party organizations, increasing glasnost in the work of the party organs and organizations, requiring secret elections in all organizations, intensifying work at the places of living, and so forth);
- the new factors in the party activities under conditions of our society's renewed legal superstructure, and so forth.

Now it is especially important to develop the issue of the **primary party organizations** in the new social communities.

- While self-management does not diminish the role and importance of the party organs and organizations, it does place them in a new situation.

Thirdly, in accordance with the new principles of organization and management that we adopted at the December plenum:

- We must introduce changes in the structure and principles of work of the party's central organs: the Central Committee, the oblast committees, and the municipal committees. This will also affect the primary party organizations.

Let us take, for example, the BCP Central Committee.

- It is necessary to adopt many measures related to further enhancing its strategic role.

- It must be an organ capable of discussing and resolving more issues in an operational manner, controlling the activity of its executive organs, and so forth.

In this context, it would be correct:

- to form a new type of **Central Committee's political organ** based on the present Politburo and Secretariat.

It is necessary to restructure and enhance the role of the party's **control-auditing organ**.

Thus we shall implement a new distribution of the various organs' rights, obligations, and responsibilities, place the care for developing the party policy on a new foundation, and improve the activity related to its practical implementation in life.

We must improve the activity of the **oblast and municipal party committees**.

What are the main factors in this sphere?

- The main factor is that these committees must not be any longer merely "transmission belts," but assert themselves as **full-fledged headquarters** for developing and implementing regional, oblast, and municipal strategies based on the general party strategy.
- Thus they will emerge as real **political organs**, and as a leading political force on their territory.
- Simultaneously, all this must be combined with increasing their role as **organizers** of the people's masses in resolving specific practical tasks.

All those issues, that affect internal party life and the party's leading role must find their place in the statute. In addition, as you can see, I do not mean to insert supplements in the present statute, but to essentially create a new statute.

This premise also springs from the fact that it is necessary to see the statute in a new manner and understand its importance for the party.

As is known, the **aforementioned statute practically determines the party's code of regulations, not only from the point of view of its organizational life, but also from the point of view of the party's role in society.**

- This means that the new statute should guarantee the implementation of the party's **goals** at a given stage of its development and the implementation of the party's political line, and **strategy**.

Considering this fact, we should devote special attention to certain basic questions of principles in preparing the new party statute.

What kind of questions do we have in mind?

The first question is related to the party's **general line** and to its definition as a line inspired by the April 1956 Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

—We already announced that the so-called April Plenum model has exhausted its possibilities and this evaluation is justified. There is even more: We are now developing a **new model** of socialism in our country.

—As a result of this, we discussed the question of the April line of party policy on several occasions, and established that the party's general line is also involved in a **process of development**, according to which we can no longer accept the **April Plenum line** as the general line of our party's policy.

—This does not mean that we are questioning the **historical contribution** of the April Plenum line, or its **assets** and role as the BCP's Leninist line of policy. The question simply is that this line of policy corresponded to **certain specific conditions**.

Nonetheless, numerous reasons exist for reviewing our stand on the party's present strategic line.

Following the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, we followed different strategic lines for the implementation of the general line, according to circumstances.

This was a correct approach.

—Following the 13th BCP Congress the **party line** of a **qualitatively new growth** in the economic sector and in other spheres of social life was proclaimed.

—Along with this, as early as at the July Plenum we practically introduced a new substance and new principles for our strategic line by asserting the concept on the further construction of a new society in our country.

—This is related to the **course of the revolutionary restructuring of our society**.

As we know, the 13th BCP Congress did not adopt this particular interpretation of the established strategic course. The formula of the qualitatively new growth is close to the line of revolutionary restructuring in our society, but is not identical with it.

We are now facing the task of working out an approach on the question of the party's general line and on the question of the strategic course we are expected to follow in the coming years.

In this respect it is necessary to clarify to following two questions:

—One question is related to the fact that from the point of view of the activities of other communist parties and from the point of view of contemporary scientific postulates it would be useful to discuss to what extent it is expedient to deal with two concepts in the future (namely the concepts of general line and strategic

course) and whether it would not be correct to integrate these concepts under a common denominator.

—Another problem is related to the fact that even the definition of our present strategic course as a course of revolutionary restructuring requires a **certain specification** in order to stress the **qualitatively new element** which is expected to be **implemented** within the forthcoming period.

—All this is related to the fact that, in accordance with the July Concept, our **long-term strategic line** is now subject to the task of developing a **new model of socialism** in our country.

The second question concerns the party program.

As is known, some of the fraternal parties are expected to raise a similar question at their forthcoming congresses.

—This is understandable, above all from the point of view of the revolutionary restructuring process which present-socialism is experiencing today.

—It is also understandable from the point of view of the changes under way in our contemporary world.

The development of the new historical essence is an objective process which has considerably changed many of our previous world concepts and places the question of global restructuring on a new basis.

All this is necessarily reflected in the programmatic premises of the communist movement.

As far as our party is concerned, we should primarily consider the following two established facts:

—The first of these facts is the **program on the construction of a developed socialist society** adopted by the 10th BCP Congress in 1971.

—The second is the **July Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in our country**.

It is unnecessary to prove that in proclaiming the July Concept and the thesis on a new model of socialism in our country, and so forth, we practically **invalidated numerous decisive postulates** of the 1971 program.

It is particularly important to consider that in doing this we renounced the premise on the developed socialist society, by adopting the concept that we are still in the initial stage of constructing the new society.

This is, actually, the meaning and substance of our diversified activities in all spheres of restructuring. To put it more precisely, the tasks we have been engaged in since the December Plenum reveal as follows:

—We are now engaged in establishing the foundations of our socialist society and in constructing the base that corresponds to the socialist principles contained in the genesis of Marxism.

—In this connection no historical or logical reasons whatsoever exist justifying our further support for the thesis on a developed socialist society.

The basic conclusion that undeniably imposes itself today is the requirement that we should invest the party with new views and plans rather than complementing or revising the existing programs.

In this case we need to clarify at least the two following questions:

The first question is whether we are ready to submit a new program to the forthcoming BCP Congress?

Regardless of the fact that our party is working on a concept for the further construction of socialism in Bulgaria, **we can hardly say that we are prepared for a new program.** Numerous fundamental problems of socialism are awaiting their development. In addition to this, we need time to accumulate new historical experience with a view to the restructuring under way.

The second question is related to the circumstance that we are now developing a social system that is expected to be entirely and consistently ruled by law and by the Constitution in the first place.

—Under such circumstances the role of the state and of the self-managing communities is expected to be enhanced.

Does this mean that the role and importance of the party's program documents should diminish in such case?

Of course not.

However, under the new conditions such documents should be developed and applied in such a way as will prevent the role of the legislative superstructure and the role of central and local state organs from being underestimated.

On the other hand, we should consider that the role of the party program is required for the implementation of the July Concept under the present circumstances.

III.

On Preparing and Convening the 14th BCP Congress

Comrades, the requirement of **convening and preparing** the party's regular congress has recently emerged with increasing urgency. This requirement is related to the following factors:

—To our party's long-standing tradition of creating in good time an appropriate **atmosphere** and providing **practical premises** for each forthcoming party forum;

—To the **requirements** of the party statute which establish the time and circumstances of **convening** party congresses.

If we consider the question submitted to discussion from the point of view of the party statute, the regular BCP congress should take place at the beginning of 1991. In accordance with the established tradition in our country we could soon announce to the party and people in an appropriate form that we are about to engage in active preparations for the forthcoming 14th BCP Congress.

Several questions emerge in this connection:

The first of these is related to the date of the congress.

—It is evident that this should be a regular party congress, because there are no circumstances whatsoever in our country that might justify the convening of an extraordinary congress.

—Along with this, nearly all fraternal countries, including the USSR, are expected to hold their regular party congresses in 1989 or in 1990.

—The CPSU, in particular, is expected to convene its 28th Congress ahead of schedule, namely in October 1991.

Naturally, each party should resolve this question independently by taking into account the specific circumstances existing in its respective country and considering the tasks of the present moment.

The real problem we are expected to discuss and resolve is the extent to which it is justified to convene our party congress within the next year.

In order to answer this question we should consider the special circumstances of the present political situation in our country.

—It would be certainly correct, but not sufficient, to say that we are involved in a process of revolutionary restructuring.

—As is known, restructuring in itself is a process undergoing certain **definite stages** of development, while each stage, in turn, is characterized by its **own** specific, sociopolitical, economic, and intellectual **features**.

In discussing the present situation in our country, it is evident that the strategy of restructuring developed and based on the July Concept is the decisive element of our special circumstances.

—The trends in our development and all partial elements of this development in various spheres of life are related directly or indirectly to this strategy and to the July concept.

This is one aspect of the question.

On the other hand, the struggle for the practical implementation of the decisions adopted at the BCP Central Committee December Plenum is also an essential and decisive element at the present stage of our development./

The emphasis on this aspect of the question is particularly important in the context of convening the forthcoming, regular party congress.

This is understandable, considering that party congresses are primarily expected to assess the past stages of development and the progress of current processes, to determine the substance and trends of the new platform implemented by the party.

As for the main essence of the present party platform which we are now implementing in practical life, we are justified in saying: **This essence reveals the core of the restructuring policy initiated in our country, as a result of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP Central Committee July Plenum, and gives "flesh" and "blood" to this policy.**

—The main essence of the new party platform also determines the image of the progress achieved since the last party congress and defines the results of the efforts devoted by the workers class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia in our country.

—The BCP Central Committee is expected to report to the party and people from the rostrum of the 14th Congress, how the platform in question is being implemented, and to describe the results and future tasks related to this platform.

This entitles us openly to submit a positive and optimistic assessment of our work to the people and to point out the facts reflecting our vigor and health, our confidence in the initiated task.

It appears from this that our party has every reason to be proud of its own efforts in submitting their results to the people.

—It will certainly be difficult to achieve such results, but they certainly do not surpass our strength and capabilities.

—The most important thing under the present circumstances is our conviction that we are capable of accomplishing all these results, without which the forthcoming 14th BCP Congress would be unable to play its role and to strengthen the people's confidence in the party and in socialism.

In connection with all this and in considering the time factor it might be right to hold the 14th BCP Congress by the end of 1990, immediately following the CPSU Congress.

This is one of the questions that emerges in this context. It is evident that the time factor should by no means be regarded as a purely organizational problem, because it affects the essence of the current restructuring processes, their correct elucidation, and direction. The party congress should play a very important and unique role in this respect.

As we already pointed out, we should by no means underestimate the time factor. We do not have much time left until the congress, but in the final account the time is not too short.

It is definitely important to understand that the essence of the time factor is not so much related to schedules, but rather concerns the intensification of our work and efforts, our skill in efficiently organizing things and in working at full speed, with the necessary sense of responsibility and discipline.

The essence of the issues is mostly determined by "small matters" at the present moment. The recent effort to overcome current difficulties in connection with the shortage of manpower confirmed that we have tremendous resources.

We should seek to confront the problems instead of trying to avoid them by taking refuge in theoretical cliches. This is the most important issue today.

The next question is related to the requirement to face the 14th Congress by submitting an analysis and a number of premises that will guarantee the further progress of restructuring for the sake of the goals assigned by the July Concept.

1. Fundamental Analysis and Assessment of the Period Between the 13th and 14th BCP Congresses Are Required

The reasons for this requirement are evident: During the period under review the party adopted a substantial, strategic method of work. Considering this fact, it is insufficient to describe this period as a transitional stage. The current processes of this period laid down the foundations for a new model of socialism with all consequences stemming from it.

What should we take into consideration in preparing the analysis expected to be submitted at the congress?

—The assessment of the period between the two congresses would certainly not only be insufficient, but also incorrect, if we were to limit ourselves to examining **separate** facts and phenomena regardless of their potential importance. We should by all means map out the **general framework, the general background** and interpret the congress from the point of view of the **general trends** that are prevailing.

In our particular case this is called for in order to evaluate the **point of departure** of the restructuring processes, its assets and shortcomings, its positive and negative aspects. **The period between the 13th and 14th congresses represents such a point of departure in the true sense of the word.**

—The period under review should be defined as a point of departure because our efforts throughout it were devoted to the search for new visions and approaches on the development of a new concept of socialism in our country.

—The period under review should be defined as a point of departure, insofar as some of our points of reference are not yet completed, but are involved in a process of further development and testing, which is neither a misfortune nor a shortcoming, of course, but only a peculiar feature of the current stage.

—The period under review should be defined as a point of departure because it is a period of sharp confrontation between outdated and new ideas.

An analysis of the period under review is required also from the point of view of the positive and negative experience that has been accumulated.

—It is a fact that numerous new ideas were tested and continue to be tested over this period.

—It is also a fact that the period between the two congresses turned out to be by far more complicated and diversified than we had initially imagined.

—Generally speaking, we could define the period under review as one of the exceptional stages in our development, as a stage which in an accelerated, drastic, and concentrated form, revealed all dramatic aspects of confrontation between new and outdated ideas under the present restructuring process.

All this variety of facts, phenomena, and processes, all this complex of our social reality should be defined in the general framework of the period under review.

—One of the peculiar features of the current restructuring process in our socialist countries is determined by the fact that we are dealing with a sociopolitical, economic, and ideological process at the same time.

—Along with this, we should not underestimate the approach to the analysis of the existing difficulties and problems and the method according to which the goals and future prospects of our development will be mapped out.

—The case of the Bulgarian Muslims shows that patriotism, love of the motherland, and the attitude toward the party and toward socialism are deeply rooted among the people.

2. Analysis of the Period Between the Two Congresses is One Aspect of the Issue, That Must Occupy an Appropriate Place in the Work of the 14th BCP Congress. The New Elements, That the Congress Will Introduce, Represent the Other Aspect

One of the most important characteristics of the forthcoming congress is that it will take place in a situation in which the party has:

—a developed concept on further constructing socialism in Bulgaria;

—a defined course of restructuring, which will undoubtedly continue;

—many constituent premises of our internal and foreign policy and cooperation with the socialist countries, and first of all with the USSR.

Thus we cannot say about the 14th BCP Congress that it begins a new cause from scratch. However, precisely this fact—with its positive and negative aspects—is of great importance in entrusting the congress with an historic role in developing the party and country.

—On the one hand, the 14th BCP Congress, preceded by the purgatory of the July Plenum and the concept adopted by that plenum, is called upon to give a new accelerating impetus to the cause of restructuring.

—On the other hand, on the basis of the new realities in the country and the world, it will advance party policy in all spheres.

Regardless of how wrong it is to think that there are no more questions marks left between the past and the 14th BCP Congress that must be eliminated, positive work, looking forward to the future, and the constructive thought and cause, will nevertheless be the main factors of the congress. **Thus the congress will go down in history as a logical and worthy step forward in the revolutionary renewal of socialism in our country.**

In this context the fact that precisely this kind of continuity allows the 14th BCP Congress to assume an intermediate place in the theory and practice of Bulgaria's socialist development, has essential importance.

3. We Must Devote Special Attention to Preparing the Congress.

The decisive factors are:

—**to turn this preparation into an all-people cause that will encompass broad strata of the people and youth, and that will be implemented under conditions of glasnost and democracy.**

First of all it is necessary that the preparation of the new ideas and visions, which will be in the center of the congress discussion, begin from the bottom, from the self-managing social communities.

—This means that we must put into effect the premise that appropriate policy and strategy must be worked out at every level of our social structure, and developed into programs.

—This means that every settlement, community, and oblast must have their own program of development.

—Having this in mind, broad political and organizational work for attracting the broad people's strata in working out and discussing such programs, and resolving the immediate practical tasks, must develop under the leadership of the relevant party committees.

Labor competition for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan must develop in every plant, institute, and settlement.

At a certain stage it would be appropriate to publish the oblasts' draft programs in the daily press for all-people discussion.

—This discussion must have the character of a referendum.

—It would also be correct to continue this discussion at the congress itself.

The publication of the drafts for amendments in the constitution and the BCP Statute for all-people discussion will have essential importance in creating the appropriate mood and atmosphere among the people.

Our party has great experience in organizing and conducting party congresses. This experience contains many positive aspects, which must be utilized now. Simultaneously, it is necessary to take into consideration the characteristics of the present internal and international political situation.

In this context it is imperative to generally approach the preparations for the 14th BCP Congress in a new manner.

It can and must become a forum, that will reach every labor collective and social community, and become a powerful factor for the acceleration and qualitatively renewal of our entire society.

Comrades, these are the problems and tasks on which the Politburo decided to present its visions to the Central Committee plenum.

Obviously, a difficult and responsible period lies ahead of us.

We must take into consideration the characteristics of that period if we are to meet with success.

From the international point of view those characteristics include the stimuli of the new political thinking.

—Regardless of how many difficulties accompany the triumph of this thinking and the new international and interstate relations, this undoubtedly is the future of mankind and our planet.

—We must utilize the entire historical and political experience of this process, if we are to achieve the goals we have set ourselves.

From the internal point of view those characteristics include the task of implementing a real, comprehensive, purposeful, and inspired advance along the entire front of restructuring, and bringing this front to new positions.

What I have in mind is a mobilization of the economic, ideological-political, intellectual, and moral forces of our entire society and all people that is unprecedented in the history of socialist construction.

This mobilization presupposes a serious and responsible assessment of the subjective factor and its entire wealth of political, professional, territorial, and other components.

—Correctly devoting exceptional importance to restructuring as a process of forming the new economic and political foundations of society, we are still underestimating the socio-historical behavior, mood, and aspirations of those components.

We must not forget that by entering the processes of restructuring and attracting the broad people's strata to this process in various forms and degrees, we are implementing political work in the most direct sense of this word.

This work must be more specific, effective, and comprehensive than ever before.

I mean a new kind of political work to which all, and first of all the party, must get used to.

—In our party we have no reason to be under the influence of a political inferiority complex. We did not allow the emergence of a crisis situation in our country under the present conditions.

At the same time, we must not idealize the situation and sink in bureaucratic utopia and romanticism.

On the contrary.

—We are witnessing a demoralization in certain units and circles, as well as manifestations of political demagoguery and passivity.

—We are witnessing inactivity and rude violations of labor discipline, which are turning into a characteristic and basically anti-social manner of living on the part of many people.

All this shows that our political work requires a fundamental renewal.

—A renewal in all directions and in the consciousness and actions of all cadres and the entire party.

We are paying and will pay a high price for every delay and lapse.

—The politization of political work as a goal in itself, the lack of contact with the people's vital activity and the manner of living and functioning in all communities—from the family to all people and society—this is the present partial shortcoming of our political work.

Obviously, in this sphere too the pyramid must turn upside down.

—Political work, which does not stem from the people's experience and life is not party political work.

All our people really must assume their place on the stage of restructuring if we are to implement the great goals

that we pose to ourselves and turn the attack we refer to into a really revolutionary process.

—It is the people that have constructed modern socialist Bulgaria.

—It is the people that adopted the July Concept and require from us that we effect a turning point in our work, as well as courage and creativity, in order to turn this concept's instructions into reality.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo expresses confidence that also now, while making a new and decisive step along the road of restructuring, the BCP will enjoy the support of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union,

all public organizations and movements, and all generations of working people from all spheres of life.

Today, more than ever before, we need the unity of our entire society:

—unity in the name of restructuring;

—unity in the name of socialism.

This unity is the guarantee of our success and our future. Our youth, children, and grandchildren—this is our future. This is the future of Bulgaria, as we created it, and as we would like it to be—a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

600 GDR Emigrants at FRG's Prague Embassy*LD0211115989 Prague CTK in English
0805 GMT 2 Nov 89*

[Text] Prague Nov 2 (CTK)—According to West German sources GDR citizens are applying again at the West German Embassy in Prague for documents to emigrate to the FRG via Prague, the Czechoslovak daily RUDE PRAVO said today.

Some six hundred newcomers had been registered by embassy officials by Wednesday evening and their number kept growing. The would-be emigrants entered the building either through the main gate or they climbed over the fence in the backyard.

Husak Sends Congratulations to GDR's Krenz*AU2710173789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Congratulations to the GDR"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CSSR president, has sent Egon Krenz the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of his election as chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council:

Esteemed Comrade,

On the occasion of your election as chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council, I am sending you, on behalf of the CSSR people and on my own behalf, the most cordial congratulations possible.

I am convinced that the ties of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our states and peoples will continue to be developed and strengthened in the interest of the people of both our countries and of the further development of socialism.

I wish you, Esteemed Comrade Krenz, much success in your responsible activity, good health, and personal happiness.

USSR's Baklanov Visits, Holds Talks**Visits Moravian Enterprises***AU0211100189 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 27 Oct 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "From Comrade Oleg Baklanov's Visit"]

[Text] Uherske Hradiste—Oleg Baklanov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, continued his working visit to the south Moravia region on Thursday [26 October]. He visited the Let Enterprise in Uherske Hradiste-Kunovice. This leading Czechoslovak manufacturer of aircraft technology has already been cooperating with its Soviet partners for many years. It has supplied more than 800 L-410 aircraft to the Soviet Union.

The Soviet guest showed great interest in the development of current contacts. The Kunovice employees are

preparing delivery of a new type of aircraft, the L-610, which will carry 40 passengers. Soviet experts also helped during its production. Now the signing of an agreement on mutual recognition of the aircraft's certificate is also being prepared.

During the afternoon, Oleg Baklanov visited the Tesla Pardubice State Enterprise. He inspected some production processes which guarantee the supporting program—radar technology. During talks, not only the prospects for exporting radar equipment to the USSR were discussed, but also the possibilities of cooperation which would lead to products being manufactured with a quality that corresponds to world parameters.

The CPSU secretary returned to Prague from Pardubice.

The Soviet guest was accompanied by Frantisek Hanus, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee secretary.

Meets With Jakes*LD2710190789 Prague CTK in English
1702 GMT 27 Oct 89*

[Text] Prague Oct 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes met here today with Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Oleg Baklanov who has been here on a working visit.

Stressing that the USSR will remain Czechoslovakia's main economic and trading partner, Milos Jakes said it is in the interest of both countries that these relations should assume modern forms, that high-quality products of a high technological standard should become a subject of trade and cooperation. He stressed the need to use capacities released from the military sphere in production of engineering equipment for civilian purposes, for environmental protection and for the production of consumer goods both for the home market and for exports. Milos Jakes appreciated the measures the Soviet Union has been taking to speedily remove the delays in the take-over of goods at freight transfer stations.

Oleg Baklanov spoke with appreciation of his experiences from visits to Czechoslovak enterprises and from talks with partners.

The two officials stated that there are good prerequisites for achieving concrete results in industrial cooperation between enterprises, and spoke in favour of developing contacts and cooperation between the two parties and the two countries.

Joint Venture With Bulgarian Automobile Works*AU3110094289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 26 Oct 89 p 2*

[Josef Vlacek report: "Higher Form of Cooperation Between LIAZ and Madara; New Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Association"]

[Text] Prague (Our correspondent)—An agreement on a joint Czechoslovak-Bulgarian scientific-technical association—LIAZ [Liberec Automobile Works]-Madara—was signed in Prague on Wednesday [25 October] by Maxmilian Deutsch, director of the state enterprise LIAZ at Jablonec nad Tisou, and Zheko Zhekov, director of the Madara state company of Sumen. Toncho Chakarov, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the CSSR, was also present at the festive act.

Maxmilian Deutsch told the RUDE PRAVO correspondent that the objective of the new association is to make the most of the results of the more than 19 years of cooperation between the two enterprises and achieve a higher degree of integration and cooperation. The LIAZ-Madara joint coordination and scientific-technical association for the production of automobile technology will also make it possible to make more efficient use of the production capacities of the two partners, raise the technical-economic standard of production, and ensure the innovation program.

M. Deutsch said further that one is also contemplating setting up a joint production and construction bureau, as well as joint management, which will coordinate technical development, investment policy, trade policy, and further development within the framework of the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian automobile industries. "We also want to enter third markets together," he said.

Czechoslovak specialist are already working in Madara; they are helping to organize production and improve quality. Machine designers from LIAZ Jablonec are there, too. "Our intention is to set up teams which would jointly resolve tasks. Specifically speaking, Bulgaria, for example, will specialize in 3-axle towing vehicles. We will be delivering components. These towing vehicles will also be destined for the Czechoslovak market." The Bulgarian side will also manufacture some special body versions.

M. Deutsch said further that LIAZ Jablonec is at present delivering some 3,200 stripped-down vehicles to Bulgaria's Madara, which are assembled there for Bulgaria's needs as well as for export. On the other hand, the Bulgarian side is providing us with all the driving axles for our production.

Deputy Minister Janku Ends U.S. Visit 23 Oct

AU2710192589 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 6

[CTK report: "Discussions on Church Policy"]

[Text] New York—Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Church Affairs Secretariat, ended his week-long visit to the United States on Monday [23 October] by holding talks with representatives from the U.S. Administration and the U.S. Congress.

V. Janku held talks in New York and Washington with state officials as well as with representatives of a number of religious organizations, civil initiatives, the mass media, and ethnic Czechoslovak associations. He briefed them on the current state of church affairs in the CSSR, on the activity of church and religious organizations, and on the broad spectrum of issues surrounding present development in Czechoslovakia under the conditions of restructuring.

He defined the atmosphere of his talks in the United States as being quite heterogeneous. In some instances, I met with a sincere attempt to understand the needs of contemporary global development and of development in the CSSR, whereas, in other instances, I met, on the contrary, with rather distorted ideas about Czechoslovakia and with the remnants of the type of thinking associated with the cold war, he said. Some American representatives evaluate restructuring in the socialist countries only according to what extent, in their view, it will contribute to the dismantling of socialism and to the break up of its economic and social system.

National Council's Kempny in FRG 24 Oct

AU2710193189 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 7

[Text] Bonn (CTK correspondent)—Josef Kempny, chairman of the Czech National Council, arrived by air in North Rhine-Westphalia on Tuesday [24 October]. He will hold talks with his host, Landestag Chairman Karl-Josef Denzer, and other officials of this most populous FRG bundesland.

J. Kempny will also meet with representatives of FRG-CSSR Society, representatives of industrial and commercial circles, and visit the Center for Innovation and Technology and other projects in North Rhine-Westphalia. In Dortmund he will attend a symposium on the future of historic cities, of which the Czech National Council is a co-sponsor.

Lenart Visits France, Talks With Marchais

Departs for Paris

LD2910192189 Prague CTK in English
1740 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] Prague Oct 29 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Lenart left here today for a working visit to France, at the invitation of the French Communist Party.

Meets With Marchais

LD3010211789 Prague CTK in English
2028 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Paris Oct 30 (CTK correspondent)—Visiting presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart was

received here Monday [29 October] by general secretary of the French Communist Party Georges Marchais.

Representatives of the two parties exchanged views on bilateral relations and informed each other of the prospects of further contacts. They signed a protocol on cooperation for 1990. The document envisages its considerable extension, especially in the exchange of study delegations, journalists and experts.

Georges Marchais was interested in new aspects of the Czechoslovak Communist Party policy, namely the contents, program and methods of work. He pointed out that each of the parties works under specific conditions and faces often different problems. The two party representatives exchanged views on the possibilities of further developing economic cooperation.

Jozef Lenart said after the meeting that the talks with the French comrades were marked with understanding and a friendly atmosphere.

Comments on Talks

*LD0111224689 Prague Television Service
in Slovak 1830 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Concluding his working visit to France, Comrade Jozef Lenart granted a short interview to the Czechoslovak Television:

[Begin Lenart recording] I should like to praise the meeting at the French Communist Party Central Committee with its leading officials, above all the chief representative, Comrade Marchais, but also with other representatives, in the sense that the talks were demanding, but I think useful. We are looking forward to closer cooperation along the party line in order to exchange experiences and, naturally, to mutually critically inspect our work. We are yet again praising the great willingness and cooperation of representatives of the French Communist Party. As to the meeting with representatives of the financial, commercial, and industrial circles of France, we are praising certain first steps which were undertaken regarding cooperation between France and Czechoslovakia; but both sides expressed dissatisfaction; we have at the same time expressed the decision that the possibilities are great, but little used. We have received a number of incentives; one of the main ones being the visit of representatives of French commercial, financial, and industrial circles to Czechoslovakia in the next few months. [end recording]

NATO Session, Polish, Hungarian Events Viewed

*AU011121789 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 27 Oct 89 p 6*

[Milan Jelinek commentary in the "Week in the World" column]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

Half-Hearted Approach

The meeting of NATO defense ministers in Portugal provided a typical example of the Western states' approach to the question of disarmament. We appreciate the fact that NATO welcomes the changes in the situation in the world and expresses the determination to take up disarmament measures, not only verbally but also in practical terms. On the other hand, the West insists on the existence of nuclear weapons and continues to claim that their deterrent force is vital to its own security and to the preservation of peace. It has been said many times how naive this illusion is, and how dangerous its consequences are.

There is yet another aspect, however. NATO constantly urges the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact to take additional disarmament measures and it considers those taken thus far to be insufficient. It seems that the principle of reasonable compromise has not yet fully become the negotiating position of the NATO member states. The USSR and the Warsaw Pact have repeatedly expressed their readiness to continue to show good will. NATO should realize, however, that there is a limit to unilateral disarmament measures which cannot be crossed without damage to one's own security. The key idea continues to hold true that the desired results cannot be achieved by means of unilateral military disarmament measures.

The Economy Is Decisive

RUDE PRAVO has been reporting extensively and commenting on the situation in Poland and Hungary. It is possible to add that it will be the economic situation in the two countries that will determine their social development in the near future. In Poland this is already the case.

Numerous groups of working people are beginning to organize themselves politically. They protest against the disregard for their interests in the highest political places. They respond with particular concern to the possibility of state and social property being transferred to the hands of a narrow group of private entrepreneurs. In this the workers class rightly sees a threat to its fundamental interests, gains, and accomplishments, as well as a prerequisite for its social demands failing to meet with a response in the legislative and executive state bodies.

It is a fact that at the moment of reversal in the economic sphere, that is, at the moment of the economy's transfer to the platform of private ownership relations, there automatically also occurs a definitive reversal in the power and political conditions of a country.

The economic situation in Poland is catastrophic, which is a generally known fact, admitted even by its present government representatives, who had for years been organizing the strike movement which has disintegrated the Polish economy. The Hungarian economic situation is also precarious. There is no doubt that, unless the new

governments succeed in bringing about a radical turn soon, new and evidently serious confrontations could surface in the political development of these countries.

Dubcek on 'Isolated' Leadership on Hungarian TV

*LD3010234989 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 2045 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The staff members of Panorama now report from Prague, a city in travail, a city of unrest. [passage omitted]

As we have heard, the demonstrators on the square on 20 October frequently shouted Long live Dubcek, the chief protagonist of the Prague spring and one of those who suffered the military intervention. For a long time Dubcek was not allowed to speak. Six months ago he spoke for the first time on our Panorama program. It was then that he first revealed to the world what happened in 1968 and who is responsible in what way for this. Since then Dubcek has, like the phoenix, risen from the ashes. He is joining in politics again. According to reports, he will soon travel to Rome, where he will probably meet Gorbachev [sentence as heard]

[Unidentified correspondent] We are in the villa district of Bratislava, high above the Slovak capital. [passage omitted] In Bratislava one can ring Dubcek's doorbell without further ado.

[Begin Dubcek recording in Slovak, with superimposed Hungarian translation] I think that the more the state and party leadership insist on power, the more they become isolated from public opinion. Consequently, they must make use of tools of power and force if they want to continue to guarantee citizens' submissiveness. On the one hand, this cannot be maintained for long, and on the other hand, this method has never resolved anything. Our people can only begin to carry out the transformation after a dialogue in which representatives of every existing viewpoint take part. What is happening today cannot be called transformation, since something is happening only in the narrow economic field, and even that is very, very inconsistent.

At the same time, in our situation it is impossible to carry out a comprehensive transformation without political changes. The essence, as a matter of fact, is that the knot that has to be unravelled is to be found not in the economy but in politics. So we have to start with political changes. That is the only way that appropriate scope can be won for resolving economic problems. I am of the view that sooner or later the leadership will be obliged to admit that the original 1968 documents of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and our republic's government are still valid today.

If they carry on their intransigence, then in my view a kind of confrontational atmosphere will evolve in our society and the transformation about which they speak

so much now will not have the result our people expect of it. Appropriate scope must be given to the transformation, as is the case in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

I have become convinced that because of the present erroneous line of direction, the workers are incapable of supporting this party ad infinitum. Although it can be incorporated into the Constitution that the party is the leading force, this in itself is worth nothing. It does not stand up on its own. An attractive conception must be worked out, one that satisfies the whole nation. There is nothing else that can be done.

In my opinion, in both Hungary and Poland, they are endeavouring to acquire this new confidence, and this is a very good thing. I don't think the desired result will appear at once, but only as the result of a process, but once it is there, then in both Poland and Hungary, thanks precisely to the new way of looking at things, and the pluralist views that already exist, the desired uplifting can happen. [end recording]

[Correspondent] It still grieves Dubcek that he was deceived. At the beginning of August 1968, under the direction of Brezhnev, the Warsaw Pact summit was held in Bratislava. Here, they endeavored to put pressure on Dubcek. Former Central Committee secretary Vasil Bilak was also there. He alleges, in an interview given to DER SPIEGEL that together with Dubcek, they signed some kind of request for aid. Dubcek has launched a libel action against Bilak, but the Bratislava judicial authorities have not yet acknowledged Dubcek's complaint.

[Begin Dubcek recording] I think this is mainly because the faction that then acted in secret, and that has managed to preserve, to the present day, its identity secret before Czechoslovak public opinion, today too occupies a very strong position in the state and party leadership. It has strong positions in the security organs, it rules the public prosecutor's department and the courts, and thus it can politically influence these cases. This fact in itself shows that here in Czechoslovakia, concerning the work of the judicial sphere and the courts, everything is not quite right. I avow the view that before the court and at the public prosecutor's department, one thing alone can be of importance—the law. Neither the district party committee, nor the Central Committee, nor the leading role of the party can be taken into account. Nobody can dictate from somewhere outside how the courts should act. It is only and exclusively the law that must be asserted. [end recording]

Youth Daily Journalists Caught Up in Demonstration

*AU3110112089 Prague ML:DA FRONTA
in Czech 31 Oct 89 p 2*

[Zbynek Fiala and Borek Hanus report: "Unrest in Prague: The Afternoon of 28 October on Wenceslas Square"]

[Text] Just a minute or so before 1500—the beautiful Saturday afternoon had the quality of a sunny promenade. Then a couple of slogans were chanted and a crowd gathered in no time at all around the statue of St. Wenceslas. In the course of 5 minutes, it was rather jam packed in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. Slogans could be heard: "Truth Prevails!" "We Want Democracy!" "Dialogue!" There were more radical chants containing the names of statesmen and opposition representatives. A banner appeared above our heads with the inscription "We Will Not Allow The Republic To Be Subverted"—it was signed with the abbreviation HOS [expansion unknown]. Not everyone chanted everything. Journalists and television crews moved around among the crowd—for a participant drowned in the crowd, the only information on what was happening around him was conveyed by the camera lenses turning in this or that direction.

At 1508 a megaphone resonated with an appeal from the national committee in Prague I—obviously, for the crowd to disperse because the demonstration was not authorized. However, it was not easy to hear the appeal everywhere; this was also because it was drowned out by whistles. But when a police cordon was deployed next to the Museum and closed off the upper part of Wenceslas Square, the assembled crowd moved a respectable distance back. Then the order enforcement units began to move down the square, the appeal to disperse was broadcast once again, and the crowd also began to move, without resistance, toward the center of the square. It was clear that the slow procession was made up of people who had come along together and who differed in the slogans they were chanting, slogans which testified to their membership of some of the unauthorized groups, as well as of ordinary Prague citizens, including those who had originally looked on from the pavement. It was also possible to count the many faces of foreigners, among whom were the foreign correspondents.

Order was restored to the upper part of the square very quickly and practically without incident and contact between the order enforcement units and citizens. However, when the procession arrived at the front of the Hotel Evropa, it became apparent that it had nowhere to go. Roughly 300 hundred people, who were still being asked to disperse, at this moment found themselves on the pavement surrounded by an impenetrable cordon of order enforcement units. There were also journalists among them. Borek managed to slip away. Zbynek could not. A press pass did not even help here. People stood calmly. A shout went up—"We Do Not Want Violence!" Then—"We Have Empty Hands" (with their hands held above their heads). For 15 minutes nothing happened. I listened, Zbynek was taking notes; a voice in the crowd said: "Why are they keeping us here when we are not supposed to be here?" Then the order enforcement units intervened, some of the participants were loaded onto buses and others managed to find a way free through the Druzba department store passage.

Wenceslas Square was almost empty around 1600. And that was when we ended our report.

President Issues Order for Anniversary

AU3110113289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
27 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

["The Order of the CSSR President on the 71st Anniversary of Independent Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Comrade members of the CSSR Armed Forces!

The establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state on 28 October 1918 is one of the most important events in the life of our nations. It was the culmination of the long struggle of the Czech and Slovak people against the oppression of nationalities under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and for national liberation and state independence. As the decisive force of the revolutionary movement, the popular masses, inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution, enforced the recognition of the right to independent development in central Europe. In the common state of Czechs and Slovaks a new basis was created for the development of their national, political, economic, and cultural life, as well as for the struggle of the workers class for social liberation.

From the very beginning, the Czechoslovak Republic was built as a bourgeois-democratic state. The working people lacked a leading force which would guide them in the struggle for social changes. The struggle for the democratic character of the state and its social policy continued with bitter class clashes. After its founding in 1921, the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] took place at its head. It rejected the policy of class cooperation with bourgeois parties and set a program for fundamental changes in the character of the state.

In the 20 years of the state's existence, the ruling bourgeoisie did not succeed in resolving the fundamental issues of our nations' life. It was not able to ensure social conditions for the majority of the working people. On the basis of the theory of the Czechoslovak nation, it denied the identity of the Slovak nation. With its pro-Western orientation it led our country to the Munich betrayal, to the republic's being smashed, and to fascist occupation.

The struggle for our nations' freedom and independence came into the foreground again and with even greater urgency. In the years of World War II, at home and on the fronts abroad, the Czech and Slovak people were waging a tenacious struggle, filled with sacrifices, for the renaissance of the Czechoslovak state. Historical experience made them realize that it was necessary to build the renewed Czechoslovakia on new foundations and under the leadership of new political forces. Czechoslovakia's liberation by the Soviet Army laid the foundation for the realization of those objectives. A new peoples' democratic state was born, and prerequisites for transformation to socialist statehood were created. The struggle to

develop the results of the national and democratic revolution and for its transition to socialist revolution, which was carried out under the leadership of the CPCZ, culminated in the Victorious February. Political power was fully and definitely in the hands of the workers class.

The victory of the Czechoslovak working people in February 1948 aroused unprecedented elan and an upsurge of the working masses' social and political activity. Fundamental political conditions for the construction of socialism were created. A mighty material and technical base was created in industry, based on social ownership of the means of production. The socialist collectivization substantially changed the character and the way of life in the countryside. Fraternal relations between Czechs and Slovaks intensified, and education, culture, the health care, and other areas were developing. The status of the working man changed from its foundations upward. The Czechoslovak People's Army was born as an integral component of socialist society and a support for the working people in building and safeguarding socialism.

The international standing and the authority of the socialist state became strengthened, as did the close alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, ensuring the sovereignty and independence of our republic. Today, the CSSR has its indispensable place in international relations, it is active within the framework of the coordinated foreign policy of the socialist countries. It contributes to the process of the relaxation of international tension.

Today our working people have enthusiastically begun to realize the restructuring of all spheres of society's life. In this they see the path to raising our socialist fatherland to a qualitatively higher level, to strengthening Czechoslovakia's position among industrially developed states. For this we need favorable international conditions, tranquility, order, and a creative and working atmosphere.

Comrade members of the CSSR Armed Forces!

I congratulate you on the 71st anniversary of the establishment of the independent Czechoslovak state.

Vigilantly safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the CSSR against all its external and internal enemies. Do welcome the 18th CPCZ Congress with new successes when raising your combat preparedness to ensure the reliable defense of the construction of socialism and our people's life in peace.

On the occasion of the 71st anniversary of the establishment of independent Czechoslovakia, the CSSR state National Day, I order the firing of 20 artillery salvoes in the CSSR capital of Prague and in the capital of the Slovak Socialist republic, Bratislava, on 27 October 1989 at 2000.

Under the leadership of the CPCZ, forward toward further successes in building and safeguarding the socialist fatherland and socialism!

Anniversary of Republic's Founding Marked

AU3110124589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 and 30 October carry the following items linked to the 71st anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic (no newspapers were published on Saturday, 28 October, because of Czechoslovakia's National Day):

On 27 October on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,300-word editorial entitled "Heirs and Successors." The editorial views the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918 as a result of the 300-year-old struggle of the Czech and Slovak peoples against national, economic, social, cultural, and political oppression. At the same time, the editorial acknowledges the "personal merits" of T. G. Masaryk, Eduard Benes, and Rastislav Stefanik, whose "activity abroad in many ways prepared the foreign political conditions for the first steps and the development of the newly founded state," and emphasizes the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution as an "accelerator of the political decisions of the people's masses." The editorial notes that the "people linked the foundation of the state mainly with the values of popular character and democracy," adding that "today, these values are in harmony not with the slogans of those who would like to sponge on and abuse the bequest of October 28, but with the program of restructuring and democratization in our society."

On the same day, on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "With Feelings of Pride," RUDE PRAVO carries a 1,500-word CTK report on a rally held in Prague on 26 October to mark the 71st anniversary of the birth of independent Czechoslovakia. The rally, which was organized by the CSSR and Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committees and by the Prague National Front City Committee, was attended by a party and National Front delegation led by Karel Urbanek, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee. Jaroslav Tlapak, deputy premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, the main speaker at the rally, is quoted as having said that "T. G. Masaryk, E. Benes, and M.R. Stefanik had an undoubted and great share in the founding of the independent Czechoslovak state. October 28, 1918 is linked with their names, mainly with that of T. G. Masaryk. They understood the historical development, the spirit of the time, and stood at the head of events. They were foremost, leading personalities of the patriotic, anti-Austrian resistance and therein lies their historical merit, for which they objectively deserve credit."

On the same day, on page 3, under the headline "First Steps of the Republic," RUDE PRAVO carries a 4,000-word transcript of a roundtable discussion on the founding of Czechoslovakia. The panelists, leading Czechoslovak historians, discuss the circumstances of the republic's founding and assess its development in the years 1918 to 1920. In this context, they acknowledge the social reforms implemented by the first government of the republic and the introduction of "bourgeois democratic" political rights.

The RUDE PRAVO roundtable discussion is also carried by Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 October on page 4. The same PRAVDA issue also carries a 1,200-word front-page editorial on the anniversary of the republic, entitled "Historical Connections," and the 1,000-word "Order of the CSSR President on 71st Anniversary of Independent Czechoslovakia". On pages 1 and 2, PRAVDA also carries a 300-word CTK report on a rally held in Bratislava on 26 October to mark the anniversary. The rally was attended by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, and chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, and addressed by Stefan Murin, deputy premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 October on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "Loyalty to the People and Socialism," carries an 800-word Stanislav Stibor and CTK report on a military oath-taking ceremony held in Wenceslas Square on 28 October to mark the anniversary of the republic. The ceremony, which is covered by the referent item, was attended by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Army General Milan Vachek, minister of national defense, and Lieutenant General Frantisek Kincl, minister of interior.

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word CTK report on the unveiling on 28 October of a memorial plaque in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, commemorating the signing of the "Pittsburgh Treaty" (which expressed support for a common state of the Czechs and Slovaks) by Tomas Garrigue Masaryk in that U.S. city. The ceremony is said to have been attended by Miroslav Housdecky, CSSR ambassador to the United States. On the same day, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 50-word CTK report on wreath-laying ceremonies held at the grave of Tomas Garrigue Masaryk at Lany and at the grave of Klement Gottwald in Prague on the occasion of Czechoslovakia's anniversary.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 30 October, on page 1, which carries a longer CTK report on these ceremonies, notes that they were attended by Frantisek Salda, head of the CSSR president's chancellery; Lieutenant General Jiri Necas, head of the CSSR president's military office; and a delegation of the CSSR National Front Central Committee comprising Rudolf Rohlicek, its deputy

chairman; Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; Miroslava Nemcova, chairwoman of the Czechoslovak Union of Women Central Committee; Jindrich Polednik, chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Culture Association Central Committee; and Alois Gersl, its secretary.

Stepan Stresses Party Role in Restructuring

LD0111175189 Prague CTK in English
1621 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 1 (CTK)—"We do not reject a dialogue. We consider talks with all decent and honest citizens a necessity", Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Miroslav Stepan told Prague journalists here today.

"There are forces which do not like the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and which would prefer the return to the times of the bourgeois republic. We cannot and do not want to count with these forces. But we differentiate from them the voices of those who are dissatisfied but willing to share in restructuring" Miroslav Stepan said, and stressed that the Czechoslovak Communist Party rejects the opinion of those who think that the further development in Czechoslovakia should be connected with a weakening party position. "Restructuring must be a matter of all. Realisation of restructuring and democratisation is impossible without the Czechoslovak Communist Party", he pointed out.

Miroslav Stepan stressed the political ensurance of economic reforms and the strengthening of the alliance of the Czechoslovak Communist Party with other political parties associated in the National Front.

"We do not feel the problem of not knowing something from the past or the necessity of explaining it", he said, pointing out that political rehabilitations of unjustly sentenced party members in the fifties have been carried out a long time ago.

Johanes on Environmental Initiatives, Cooperation

AU2710161389

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 October on page 6 carries a 1,700-word article by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, entitled "Our Contribution to the Efforts for a Cleaner World." The article discusses pollution as one of the global problems facing mankind and Czechoslovakia's contribution to international efforts at improved environmental care.

In the opening part of the speech, Johanes deals with the growing realization in the world that the "ecological threat" is also a threat to international security and with the need for international cooperation in tackling environmental problems, regardless of ideological differences.

He goes on to review various initiatives of the socialist countries in this field, such as last year's document of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee on the impact of the arms race on the environment, the Soviet proposal that the UN Security Council start dealing with ecological problems, Czechoslovakia's proposal for international cooperation within the United Nations aimed at "international ecological security," or Gorbachev's idea, expressed at the UN General Assembly in 1988, that the funds set free in the process of disarmament be used to tackle ecological and other global problems.

Johanes then turns to Czechoslovakia's own "initiatives." In this context he discusses the ecological dimension of Milos Jakes' proposal for the creation of a zone of confidence, goodneighborly relations, and cooperation along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states and Premier Adamec's proposal for a working meeting with the premiers of all states which neighbor on Czechoslovakia to review the possibilities of cooperation in the ecological sphere. He also mentions various bilateral agreements concluded by Czechoslovakia with its neighbors concerning cooperation in environmental protection.

Next, Johanes discusses various multilateral forums dealing with environmental problems. He ascribes particular importance to the ecological dimension of the all-European process and the current Sofia forum and calls for the "strengthening of working contacts" within CEMA's recently established commission for cooperation in the protection of the environment. He also expresses Czechoslovakia's support for various international agreements on environmental issues, such as those concerning the reduction of atmospheric pollution, the protection of the ozone layer, or the policing of the cross-border transport of hazardous substances.

In conclusion, Johanes calls for the removal of existing obstacles to international cooperation in environmental issues. He says that "if the quality of the environment in all countries is to improve, artificial and politically motivated obstacles must be removed from cooperation in the exchange and use of technologies." One of such obstacles, he says, "is the question of access to advanced technologies for the protection of the environment. This fact must not be overlooked. This is why during discussions with Western states we rightly criticize the use of the discriminatory COCOM indexes and call for the removal of this 'cold war' remnant."

Proponents of Market Economy, Sik Attacked

AU3010075989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by docent Jaroslav Vejvoda, doctor of sciences from Prague, in the "Discussion Tribune" column: "Let Us Not Give Up our Advantages; What Is the Foundation of Market Relations Under Socialism"]

[Text]The articles that have recently been appearing in RUDE PRAVO's discussion tribune and in some specialist and theoretical journals are increasingly stressing the market character of our economy as its fundamental feature. From this objectively follows the free market mechanism and the so-called market balance price, that is, a price which comes about through bringing supply and demand into balance. Such views have their roots in insufficient knowledge about the economic position of the all-people's socialist enterprise. I would therefore like to point out the main causes leading to an erroneous solution to the problems of the enterprise, the market, and prices.

Socialist enterprises are collectives made up of workers and employees. Their existential basis is formed by wages, salaries, bonuses, and so forth—in short, personal income serving the needs of private consumption. The main interest of the capitalist, on the other hand, lies in the surplus value, a part of which he is forced to accumulate, under the relentless pressure of the competition (depreciation allowances also play their role here). This fundamental difference is not at all apparent when both types of enterprises are seen merely as commodity producers. Such a superficial view then leads to the erroneous conclusion that the behavior of the subject of the market under socialism (the enterprise collective) is guided by the same interest as that of the subject of the capitalist market (the capitalist).

All large, medium-sized, and a considerable part of the small enterprises have a monopoly status. This is a result of the high level of the development of production forces, which in turn leads to a high level of the concentration of production, that is, to the emergence of large enterprises. Therein lies the material foundation of a monopoly. Introducing competition under socialism and wanting to eliminate monopolies in this way means failing to respect the attained level of the development of production forces and concentration and failing to respect the existing socialist ownership relations. It is, after all, an advantage of all-social (all-people's) ownership that it has eliminated capitalist ownership barriers between enterprises (which were often monopolies) and by the same token, it has done away with relations of competition between them and has introduced the principle of planning.

A Socialist Monopoly Is Not Harmful

It is a different kind of monopoly which rightly worries us: the monopoly of volume indicators, which, on the surface, takes the shape of the monopoly status of the supplier over the customer. This kind of monopoly applies to all production, that is, supplier enterprises, regardless of their size and economic strength. Because of wages, all supplier enterprises are forced to produce according to the diktat of volume indicators and they then force these products, from the position of their monopoly, on the customer. This unnatural, artificial monopoly will disappear once we eliminate its cause—the

volume indicator—and replace it with economic accountability. The view of those economists who would like to eliminate this monopoly by introducing competition sounds illogical.

By linking monopoly with economic accountability, we will set in motion strong economic pressures on the growth of production efficiency, regardless of whether the enterprise in question has or does not have a monopoly status. It will become apparent that a socialist monopoly is not harmful and that it differs in principle from a capitalist monopoly. **The opposite is true: The larger a monopoly is, the more sophisticated technology it can introduce and the higher a level of labor productivity it will achieve.** One of the distinct advantages of socialism over capitalism—under which a monopoly is always associated with exploitation, pressure, and political reaction—will thus materialize. It will become apparent that not all monopolies are the same.

Any freeing of the market under the present conditions, in which the main interest of monopoly socialist enterprises are wages and in which all-people's ownership eliminates competition, would allow monopolies to achieve higher wages by simply raising their prices. There is no way of preventing this in an environment which lacks in competition. The inflationary spiral will start spinning and it will do so regardless of whether there exists economic imbalance or not. Even if we were to start freeing the market in the conditions of an ideal economic balance, the monopoly status of enterprises, with their interest in the growth of wages, would again send the inflationary spiral spinning and would quickly upset this balance. In such a situation, the growth of prices creates scope for the growth of wages without forcing anyone to introduce scientific-technical development. Scientific-technical development is supplanted by the growth of prices.

Also Danger for Society's Superstructure

An incorrect solution to the problems mentioned above inevitably leads to negative tendencies making their way from the economy into the superstructure. The transition to enterprise ownership, in which the freeing of the market and, hence, of prices results, reinforces the bourgeois elements of market relations, particularly their unrestrained nature. In the sphere of ideology, right-wing revisionism gradually takes shape, which is reflected, for example, in the concept of socialism as "market socialism," in the infiltration of the theory of convergence [between socialism and capitalism], and so forth. In the sphere of politics, this contributes to the liquidation of the principles of proletarian internationalism and to their being supplanted by the principles of mutual benefit, which is a typically bourgeois principle arising from the equality of private commodity producers. This equality also breeds a petty bourgeois concept of democracy, that is, the concept of "universal democracy," "democracy as such," "democracy for all," and so forth.

The class-based approach to democracy—that is, democracy for which class and against which class—gets completely lost. In the military sphere, this could lead to turning away from the military cohesion of the socialist countries and to an orientation toward neutrality, which establishes the most ideal social conditions for private commodity producers. One could continue in this enumeration.

How To Proceed Further

We must move the level of the theoretical solution to the stage of a conceptually worked out, integrated, and comprehensive political-economic model of the economic mechanism that will proceed from **all-people's ownership and direct planned management** as its basis. **It is only on this basis that market relations between enterprises can develop. In this case, they cannot have the character of competition but must have a plan-based character. Where there is competition, there is no room for the planning principle, and vice versa.** Both competition and planning tackle the development of proportions. The same proportions cannot be tackled twice—once by the plan and another time by competition, that is, by the free flow of "capital." In spite of this, many Czechoslovak economists are now busy working out the market of free competition, renewing thereby the methods of their predecessors from the second half of the sixties when our socialist system almost ceased to exist [malem vzal za sve]. In other words, we have not learned much from history.

The oft-repeated appeals of the party's Central Committee remain without echo in our economic theory. Let us consider one of the last such appeals, from the 10th session of the Central Committee in October 1988: "The questions of unity between the plan and the market, although they belong to the most important questions, are, unfortunately, the least clarified ones. This, too, constitutes a certain risk for the course of the reform. It is here that economic science, in interaction with experienced specialists from practical life, must repay its debt as soon as possible. These questions must be in the forefront of theoretical research; it is primarily on them that creative forces must now be concentrated."

Even though I consider the approach of a considerable portion of our economists to the category of the socialist market to be incorrect, it cannot be stopped by administrative means. Because the entire period of the last 20 years was marked by a virtually complete absence of such discussions, it is logical that the advocates of the free market and the balanced price are picking up where they ended 20 years ago—all the more so as, in many cases, the very same persons are involved. As for the advocates of bureaucratic management by command, they have continued for 20 years in the same way as before the years of crisis. They do not mind the lack of theory because this bureaucratic—and, hence, mostly subjectively motivated—management does not have any real theory. Therefore, in the objective sense, there only

exists scope for the uncompromising theoretical confrontation between proponents of the free market, that is, the present-day followers of Sik's theories [neosikovci], and consistent Marxists. In the discussions so far, the advocates of the free market and of balanced prices have been getting more and more room for the expression of their views. It is essential that Marxist economists, too, are given the same opportunity.

Report on 27 Oct CPCZ CC Presidium Session

*AU3110134289 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 28 Oct 89 p 1*

["Report on a Session of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on Friday [27 October] the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee addressed topical issues of the domestic political situation and international developments. It discussed the preparations for the partywide discussion of the draft of the CPCZ statutes, which will be published in RUDE PRAVO, PRAVDA, UJ SZO, TRIBUNA, and ZIVOT STRANY within a few days.

It took note of a report on the meeting of representatives of the CPCZ and the Czechoslovak People's Party on 25 October. It appreciated the importance of those talks for strengthening the cooperation between the two allied parties in drawing up, implementing, and monitoring the political program of the government of the CSSR National Front. Representatives of the CPCZ and the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] will also hold such meetings with representatives of other political parties.

It addressed topical issues concerning the further development of legal policy. It stressed that the role of socialist law, the protection of the values of the socialist, social, and state system, the correct functioning and operation of the socialist law-governed state continue to increase in the course of the implementation of the program for restructuring and democratization. The crucial role will be played by the new CSSR Constitution, with which an extensive program of mutually coordinated legal work should be linked. The draft of the main directions of legal policy, which the Presidium acknowledged, will become the foundation for the preparation of the documents of the 18th CPCZ Congress.

In connection with the overall military-political detente in the world and in harmony with the talks between the CSSR and USSR Premiers, it discussed a concept for limiting uranium mining in our country and the tasks connected with ensuring the production of nuclear fuels for Czechoslovakia's power industry.

It took note of a report of the Czechoslovak State Bank on the development of the CSSR's indebtedness in currencies of nonsocialist states. The overall development of the economy and the balance of payments this year ensure the necessary foreign exchange for paying off rates and interest.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the share of party bodies and organizations in the implementation of the principles of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism in the nonproduction sphere, that were worked out by the CSSR Government on the basis of the resolution of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The restructuring of the nonproduction organizations is to create economic conditions relatively comparable with state enterprises and cooperative organizations.

The Presidium discussed a report on the course and results of the official visit by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to the Republic of Iraq and the Arab Republic of Egypt on 14-19 October. It noted that the talks with Iraqi representatives made it possible to openly discuss problems which impede the development of traditional economic relations, and which must be eliminated as a prerequisite for the continuation of the successful cooperation. The talks in Egypt affirmed bilateral interest in the further development of mutually advantageous relations. Both countries hold identical views on the current international situation, and stressed that the Middle East situation must be solved by peaceful means.

It also addressed a report on Thursday's [26 October] talks between the premiers of the CSSR and the Republic of Hungary on the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros hydroproject, and affirmed the stand expressed by the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session.

The Presidium discussed a report on the course and results of the official friendly visit by Yasir 'Arafat, representative of the State of Palestine. The stand on that visit is published separately.

It took note of a report on the results of the 9-13 October talks with the delegation of the Communist Workers' Party of Sweden, headed by its chairman Rolf Hagel.

People's Party Condemns 'Illegal' Faction

*AU3110120289 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE
in Czech 19 Oct 89 p 1*

["re"-signed report: "On a Session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak People's Party"]

[Text] Chairman Zdenek Zalman opened and presided over the 29th session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee, which was held in Prague yesterday [18 October]. The CSL Central Committee Presidium unanimously condemned the illegal gathering of the faction within the party, which met in Prague on Saturday, 14 October. It decided to institute party proceedings against those workers of the party apparatus who took part in the meeting and who helped to organize it. The Presidium will submit the entire matter and a draft of measures to the Ninth CSL Central Committee session. Further, the Presidium addressed the preparations for that session and, after an extensive discussion, approved the report of the CSL Central Committee Presidium which will be submitted

to the Central Committee. In conclusion, Brother V. Kratochvil, chairman of the Central Auditing Commission, delivered a report on the management of the party and the LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE-Vysehrad enterprise in the first 6 months of this year.

Julis on Housing Policy, Planned Changes

*AU3010143989 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 p 2*

["From the Speech by CSSR Deputy Premier Karel Julis" at the fifth separate meeting of the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly, held in Prague on 24 October]

[Excerpts] Since 1945, 3.7 million apartments have been built in the CSSR, which is 70 percent of the existing housing stock. [passage omitted] The proportion of apartments in the first and second categories of quality reached 80 percent in 1980 and the average floor space increased from 11.7 square meters per person in 1970 to 16 square meters in 1980. The technical equipment of apartments has also significantly improved—by 1980, 90 percent of apartments were connected to the public water-supply system, 70 percent of apartments had running hot water, 80 percent of apartments had a bathroom, and so forth. [passage omitted]

The net cost of each apartment has increased from Kcs60,000 in 1964 to almost Kcs190,000 at present. If the cost of public supply mains and infrastructure is included, each apartment costs as much as Kcs350,000 to build. Characterizing the causes of the growing costs, Karel Julis cited, for example, the use of innovated products, which do not, however, increase the utility value of apartments and houses. For example, the introduction of double-layer [dvouplastovy] roofs in the Eighth 5-Year Plan has increased the cost of each apartment by Kcs2,000 to Kcs4,000 but the problem of leaking continues.

Between 1960 and 1980, almost 1 million apartments were excluded from permanent use; 827,000 of them were apartments in family homes. The number of apartments in the CSSR thus shrunk by more than one-quarter (25.8 percent)—by 24 percent in the Czech Socialist Republic and by 31.2 percent in the Slovak Socialist Republic. [passage omitted]

The concept of state housing policy for the Eighth 5-Year Plan formulated measures to halt and gradually reduce the dilapidation of the housing stock. A total of Kcs28.2 billion were set aside for repairs and maintenance of the housing stock administered by socialist organizations—of this sum, Kcs23.2 billion were earmarked for the communal and enterprise-owned housing stock and Kcs5 billion for the cooperative housing stock.

Because of the suppliers' shortage of the requisite capacities, the volumes of repairs and maintenance provided for in the state plan and in the budgets of housing management organizations are not being fulfilled. More

than 59 percent of the aggregate expenditures of housing management organizations and housing administrations must be defrayed by subsidies from the state budget. Rents and charges levied for housing-related services cannot eliminate the losses of housing economy enterprises and provide for their transition toward full-fledged economic accountability and self-financing, nor do they bring a pressure to bear on a more rational use of water and heat. Citizens have no incentive to economically use and to maintain the housing stock.

It is thus evident that the extensive character of the solution to the housing problem in the CSSR has a great power of inertia. [passage omitted]

The Eighth 5-Year Plan laid down the task of completing 482,879 apartments between 1985 and 1990 in all forms of construction combined. In the years 1986 to 1988, the fulfillment of quantitative indicators deviated rather markedly from the plan targets. The inadequate fulfillment of the plan is all the more serious as the tasks for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan were lower than the tasks for the remaining years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. The 1988 plan was fulfilled only 83.9 percent.

Karel Julis described as the main causes of this state of affairs, among other things, the insufficient territorial and design preparedness for construction in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the large number of projects simultaneously under construction, the insufficient regularity of comprehensive housing construction and its rising costs, shortcomings in the provision of materials and other products, and the restrictions that have been imposed on the start of investment projects.

It can be estimated at present that these factors will cause the construction of apartments in the Eighth 5-Year Plan to remain unfulfilled to the tune of roughly 30,000 apartments.

The plan of housing development for the Eighth 5-Year Plan provided for the modernization of 30,000 housing units in the CSSR—28,000 of them in the Czech Socialist Republic and 2,000 in the Slovak Socialist Republic. Judging by the state of provisions for this task, primarily in terms of contractors' capacities, it is to be expected that about 25,000 apartments in the socialist sector will be modernized in the period of the entire 5-year plan. [passage omitted]

Karel Julis went on to characterize the draft principles of housing policy through the year 2005, which were submitted to the session. [passage omitted]

Of fundamental importance for the entire concept of further housing policy and, in particular, housing construction is whether housing construction will have the character of a "state order." At the time of the presentation of this report, this question had not been definitely resolved, especially at the level of the planning agencies.

Under the existing concept, the aim of housing policy was to lay down a certain number of apartments to be handed over to their users in a given planning period. Under the new conditions, the aim of housing policy cannot be formulated in this way because the question would automatically arise who can guarantee these numbers so that they are not understood as the state's commitment toward the citizen and so that the appropriate general conclusions are not drawn against state policy in the event of its nonfulfillment. The aim for the future will be, in essence, meeting society's order that after the year 2000 every household should avail itself of an apartment of its own. At the same time, financial, capacity, and material resources should be used in a rational way. Coming close to this target in the conditions of the new economic mechanism is not only in the hands of the center but, in particular, in the hands of the implementors of housing policy, who will organize and carry out their activity without the central sphere's contribution.

The principles of the concept of housing policy will also establish conditions for a change in the citizen's attitude to the apartment he occupies. Similarly, there must be a change in the state's policy toward the maintenance of the housing stock, the aging of which has not been halted, precisely because of inadequate maintenance. It would be paradoxical to lay foundations for new housing construction without attending to a more effective maintenance of the existing housing stock. [passage omitted]

The principles outline the gradual introduction of economically sound rents [ekonomické najemné] so that glaring instance of low rents in high-quality apartments are eliminated. As a matter of principle, rents must be derived from the quality of an apartment, its amenities, and its location in the house and in the city and must match the value of the apartment, regardless of how it was acquired. Social considerations must not be reflected in the rent but must be tackled separately, in the form of support in those cases, in the solution of which society has a vested interest. [passage omitted]

The concept of housing policy also foresees major changes in the quality of the housing stock. Transition to the solution of the qualitative aspects of housing will require changes of principle in construction technologies and in the material and product base of the building industry. The aim will be a gradual transition from prefabricated technologies to combined technologies, to technologies which are less energy-intensive, show higher utility parameters, permit more rapid construction, and are cheaper to maintain. [passage omitted]

Assembly Chamber Views Housing Situation

AU3010141689 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 25 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Marie Koenigova, Daniela Mannova report: "The State's and Citizens' New Approach to Housing; Session of the Chamber of Nations of the CSSR Federal Assembly"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondents)—At its fifth separate meeting in Prague on Tuesday [24 October], the Chamber of Nations discussed housing policy. [passage omitted]

In the opening speech on the problems under discussion, CSSR Deputy Premier Karel Julis said that citizens must no longer consider the solution to the housing question to be a task for the state alone. They themselves, too, should seek a solution to the best of their ability and by their own means—not only as regards the apartment's acquisition but also its maintenance. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Stafek, who acted as joint reporter for the chamber's committees, spoke about the results of surveys carried out by groups of deputies and by individual deputies in the first half of this year. He confirmed that the conclusions of the 17th Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Congress contained in the concept of state housing policy for the Eighth 5-Year Plan are not being fulfilled, owing chiefly to the standard of managerial work and lack of responsibility on the part of the relevant central federal and republic agencies, investors, and contractors. Apart from other factors, this is also caused by the stagnating or even declining performance of the building industry and of design organizations, investors, and contractors. He cited as an example the fact that average construction times in Czechoslovakia are almost three times longer than in the world. Another serious shortcoming is the shortage of building materials on the market. [passage omitted]

In their surveys, the deputies also inquired about the housing situation of selected groups of the population. The worst off are young married couples. The waiting time for an apartment in Prague and Bratislava, for example, is between 5 and 30 years. The average waiting time in Karlovy Vary is 12 years, in Ostrava 5 years, in Lovosice 10 years, and in Litoměřice 7 years. Naturally, young people are interested primarily in communal apartments and less interested in cooperative apartments because their acquisition means a great financial burden for them. One way of solving the housing situation of young married couples would be the possibility of upgrading at their own cost and by their own means substandard category apartments or premises which are not used for housing at present. [passage omitted]

In its survey, the constitutional and legal affairs committee monitored the effectiveness of the law on the management of housing resources and other legal provisions. Their social effectiveness is generally low. This is why the principles regulating, in particular, the allocation of apartments should be reexamined to prevent their use for speculative purposes. [passage omitted]

The chamber adopted a resolution, in which it stressed, among other things, the need:

—to enforce a comprehensive approach to the implementation of the construction of housing, amenities, and infrastructure and to the modernization and

maintenance of the housing stock and to ensure the requisite supplies from the building industry and other national economic sectors;

- to increase the capacity and performance of the building industry and the cost-effectiveness and efficiency of housing construction, to satisfy needs as regards the construction of social care and service facilities, and to pay the requisite attention to individual housing construction;
- to work out adequate and comprehensive legislative amendments in the sphere of housing policy, especially with regard to the management of housing resources and premises which are not used for housing at present;
- to ensure full respect for ecological requirements and for the requirement to protect agricultural land

resources during comprehensive housing construction, to raise the architectural standard of housing estates, houses, and apartments, to improve the quality of construction work, to eliminate arrears in the construction of amenities and the infrastructure of housing estates, to eliminate the dilapidated state of the apartment and housing stock, and to provide progressive technology for this purpose;

- to ensure the training of qualified cadres, to create an effective system of housing management and of the apartment users' participation in the administration of the housing stock, and to maintain apartment records as essential documentation for proper apartment management. [passage omitted]

The meeting was attended by Comrades Milos Jakes and Alois Indra.

U.S. Criticized for Rejecting Gorbachev Proposal

AU0111183589 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 5

[Axel Knack commentary: "Naive Answer From the White House"]

[Text] He does not give up, this Gorbachev. Wherever he turns up abroad, he immediately takes a piece of paper out of his pocket which might facilitate further concrete disarmament steps. This also happened in Helsinki the day before yesterday, during his visit to Finland. This time the issue was a nuclear-free Baltic Sea. Together with all nuclear powers and, of course, the Baltic Sea littoral states, the Soviet Union wants to establish effective guarantees that this sea in the heart of Europe will be freed from this dangerous trash.

Hardly had this renewed advance by Gorbachev been disseminated by the media, Washington already had an appropriate answer. However, it is not newsworthy at all. On principle, the United States is against the establishment of nuclear-free zones, and the Baltic Sea is no exception. This is what White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said. Not at a loss for a naive justification, he added: "Most of these proposals are intended to impair NATO's capability for deterrence, while they leave Soviet nuclear weapons intact."

The demagoguery is easy to see in this case. A nuclear-free Baltic Sea would also mean a sea free of Soviet nuclear weapons. And the littoral states also include NATO countries, on whose territory there are already too many of these weapons anyway. But this was not enough. The fact that this proposal is not just a rhetorical exercise by Moscow becomes clear if one looks at Gorbachev's statements in the Finlandia Hall as a whole. He pointed out that the Soviet Union has already withdrawn from service two nuclear submarines that were stationed in the Baltic Sea. The remaining four submarines of this class are to be scrapped by the end of next year, including their missiles.

Thus, there is nothing that would "leave intact" the Soviet nuclear weapons. Or did Fitzwater not yet have the entire proposal when he responded to it? One would have to be very naive oneself to believe this.

NATO Criticized for Ignoring Arms Proposals

AU0211075689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 2

[Hajo Herbell editorial: "New Proposals, New No"]

[Text] In Helsinki Mikhail Gorbachev declared the USSR's readiness to agree with all nuclear powers and the Baltic Sea littoral states on efficient guarantees for a nuclear-free Baltic Sea. For this purpose, the Soviet Union again wants to make unilateral advance moves. Two nuclear submarines, which have so far been stationed in the Baltic Sea, have already been taken out of service. The remaining four submarines of this kind are

to be scrapped by the end of 1990, including their missiles. There is also no intention to replace them with new ones.

Moscow's initiative was positively received in broad circles and understood as a stimulus to intensify and expand the disarmament process. Only Washington said quickly "no," as so often in the past. It is worth looking closely at the entire absurdity of the "justification," which was given by Marlin Fitzwater, the spokesman of the U.S. President. He stated that the Soviet step would not (!) improve Europe's security. Said he: "Most of these proposals are intended to impair NATO's capability of deterrence, while they leave the Soviet nuclear weapons intact."

People, who are turning things upside down in such a way and whose "logic" is of a kind as the one of Mr F, normally belong anywhere else but into the office of the president of a superpower. However, a few events, which are happening just now in the United States and in NATO, may make it possible to understand the above-mentioned nonsense.

On 25 October, in Almansil, Portugal, the NATO Nuclear Planning Group adopted a communique, which still insists on the strategy of deterrence (of a non-existing threat), a deterrence, "which is based on a suitable composition of appropriate and effective nuclear and conventional arms." And in the United States, Defense Secretary Cheney urged a few days ago the increase of its armament expenditure, regardless (!) of any progress in disarmament. The United States is certainly giving a good example in this field, with higher expenditures, with increasingly more and further perfected weapons systems—one just has to think of the B-2 strategic attack bomber, new types of nuclear weapons, the infamous chemical binary weapons, and the entire futurological stuff, such as laser cannons, and killer satellites for space.

But one need not look that far away, because in the FRG things are not much different. Let us give the sole example of the Fighter 90, to which a double-digit-billion sum has been allocated. In any case, all this is not a new way of thinking, but the old, unsuitable policy of strength. And as regards in particular the cash boxes of the multinational arms companies—money is supposed to tinkle more and more melodiously in them. A change is urgently needed there....

Krenz, Gorbachev Reach 'Complete Agreement'

LD0111172789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1358 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The leading representatives of the USSR and the GDR, Mikhail Gorbachev and Egon Krenz, have reaffirmed the responsibility and determination of their parties, with the strength of all communists and all society, to lead the revolutionary restructuring to success. A communique on talks lasting several hours between the two party and state leaders in Moscow

today says that the communists of the two countries are seeking and testing forms and methods for a qualitative shaping of the political vanguard role of the Marxist-Leninist parties that are relevant to present-day conditions. The joint goal is, with regard to respective specific national conditions, to fashion a new society that does justice to the Leninist ideas of a living and creative socialism that is the work of the popular masses. Egon Krenz pointed to the revolutionary new direction introduced by the ninth meeting of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee. At the center stands the task of developing the socialist German state as the communal work of all classes and strata in a dialogue, and in a constructive search for common ground with all forces interested in the GDR's socialist prospects.

The decisive basis of the renewal process continues to be stable economic development, Egon Krenz stressed. Far-reaching reforms on the basis of socialist values and ideals are necessary. The alliance of all forces in the GDR united in the National Front is proving itself under the new conditions. The SED and the other parties in the GDR are prepared to strive, with even greater independence, for qualitatively better common ground. Mikhail Gorbachev said that the goal of the revolutionary restructuring in the USSR is to let the achievements of socialism show through more tangibly in people's everyday life. In this complicated process, which is not proceeding without setbacks, it is a case of solving questions that have remained over a long period of time in the political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural spheres, and in guaranteeing peace and international security. It is becoming ever more clearly apparent that with the renewal of their society, the socialist countries have tasks to solve, whose contents are the same or similar. They are being tackled in accordance in specifically different historical and national conditions.

The partners in the talks stressed their readiness to consolidate and develop the fraternal alliance of the two parties and states on the basis of jointly recognized requirements. As well as promoting proven methods, it is also necessary to seek more effective ways of cooperation. The preconditions are present on both sides for raising economic cooperation to a higher level. They spoke in favor especially of developing direct relations between enterprises and institutions of both countries, the formation of joint research teams, the founding of joint enterprises, and the expansion of personal relations between citizens of the two states.

Egon Krenz stressed that the policy of new thinking and of perestroika is a source of constant stimulus for the intensification of social progress and for the preservation of peace. The GDR will use the positive experience from the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society toward solving the new tasks resulting from the turning point that has been introduced.

Mikhail Gorbachev proclaimed the close solidarity of the USSR with the GDR on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The CPSU is sure that the GDR will succeed in bringing the political turning point introduced by the SED to success. This is an important condition for the GDR continuing to fulfill its responsibility as a stable peace factor in Europe.

Krenz and Gorbachev agree about constructively promoting the measures for disarmament, security, and cooperation introduced with the new thinking in world politics. This process must, despite continuing contradictions, be made irreversible. For this, cooperation with all states should be fashioned toward mutual advantage and in the interests of solving mankind's global problems. With respect for the principles of sovereignty, the inviolability of the borders, the territorial integrity of all states, and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, useful progress could be made in the present development of the European continent and in creating a common European home for all peoples. Here the two politicians stressed the importance of stable, equal, and goodneighbourly relations between the GDR and the FRG.

According to the communique, the meeting was characterized by frankness and complete agreement on all questions.

Meeting Communique

*LD0111183189 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1618 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The communique on the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, at the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow today has the following text:

A meeting was held today at the CPSU Central Committee between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. During a several-hour talk—marked by openness and complete agreement on all questions—there was a detailed exchange of views on social development in the two countries, bilateral cooperation, and international issues. The two politicians outlined the complexity of the processes in their countries and preparations for the 12th SED Congress and the 28th CPSU Congress. They stressed the responsibility and determination of their parties to lead the revolutionary restructuring to success with the strength of all communists and all society, and to that end to mobilize the moral, spiritual, and material potential of socialism, which is by no means untapped. They underscored that the communists of the two countries are seeking and

testing the forms and methods, suited to today's conditions, for a qualitative development of the political vanguard role of the Marxist-Leninist parties. The joint goal is, under the respective specific national conditions, to fashion a new society that does justice to the Leninist ideas of a living and creative socialism that is the work of the popular masses.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev stressed that the GDR is a reliable friend and ally of the Soviet Union. Great changes are currently under way in the GDR. In these not-easy times, the USSR stands firmly at its side. The SED is a strong Marxist-Leninist party with rich traditions. With the support of the people it is in a position to overcome the difficulties that have arisen and to boldly lead the process of renewal. It is important to act decisively and with initiative and not to lag behind life.

In this connection, Egon Krenz referred to the new and revolutionary direction introduced in the GDR by the ninth SED Central Committee meeting. At the center is the common task of developing the socialist German state by all classes and strata in a businesslike, and at times controversial democratic dialogue, and in a constructive search for common ground with all forces interested in the GDR's socialist perspective. The distinctive and creative individualism of the person is indispensable for this. The decisive basis for the renewal process continues to be stable economic development, while realistically observing the rapidly increasing demands made by the scientific-technical revolution.

Egon Krenz said that the results achieved by the work of all people under the SED's leadership over the past 4 decades in the GDR are a solid basis for the necessary far-reaching reforms on the basis of socialist values and ideals. Even under the new conditions, the prevailing alliance of all forces united in the National Front is proving itself to be a social representative of citizens' interests. Like the SED, the Democratic Peasants' Party [DBD], the Christian-Democratic Union of Germany [CDU], the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], and the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] are prepared to strive for a qualitatively higher common ground with even greater independence.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reaffirmed that the goal of the USSR's revolutionary restructuring is to let the achievements of socialism show through more tangibly in people's everyday life. In this complicated process, which is not proceeding without setbacks, it is a case of solving questions that have remained over a long period of time in the political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural spheres, and in guaranteeing peace and international security. It is becoming more apparent that with the renewal of their society, the socialist countries have tasks to solve whose contents are similar. They are being tackled in accordance with the specifically different historical and national conditions.

Both partners in the talk stressed a readiness to consolidate and develop the fraternal alliance of the two parties

and states on the basis of jointly recognized requirements. As well as promoting proven methods, it is also necessary to seek more effective ways of cooperation. There was agreement that the preconditions are present on both sides for raising economic cooperation to a higher level within the foreseeable future. The development of direct relations between enterprises and institutions of both countries, the formation of joint research teams, the founding of joint enterprises, and other possibilities should proceed with determination. For both countries it is a matter of achieving top international positions on a broad basis and jointly utilizing the potentials of the two countries more strongly toward this aim. Contract and the development of personal relations between the citizens of the two countries should be more comprehensively promoted.

Egon Krenz stressed the SED's unrestricted support for restructuring and renewal in the Soviet Union, and pointed to the great interest of the GDR people in all developments aimed at strengthening socialism in the USSR. The mass media has the task of widely reporting on this process and providing information on Soviet experiences, thereby deepening mutual understanding and friendship between the two peoples. The policy of new thinking and of perestroika is a source of constant stimulus for the intensification of social progress and the preservation of peace. The GDR will use the positive experience of revolutionary restructuring within Soviet society for solving the new tasks resulting from the turning point that has been introduced. The friendship between the two parties and citizens of the two countries should not be a friendship of slogans and declarations, but a friendship of mutually advantageous cooperation and support in the interests of people, Egon Krenz said.

Egon Krenz and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev agreed on constructively promoting the measures for disarmament, security, and cooperation introduced with the new thinking in world politics. They stressed that this process must, despite continuing contradictions, be made irreversible. They pointed to their desire to fashion cooperation with all states toward mutual advantage and in the interests of solving the global problems of mankind. With respect for the principles of sovereignty, the inviolability of borders, the territorial integrity of all states, and of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, useful progress could be made in the present development of the European continent and in creating a common European home for all peoples. The partners in the talk stressed the importance of stable, equal, and good-neighbourly relations between the GDR and the FRG for peace and security in Europe and beyond the continent. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev reaffirmed the Soviet standpoint that all questions that affected the GDR will be decided nowhere other than in the GDR capital.

The two politicians expressed their conviction that the agreement reached on the restructuring of socialist society and on foreign policy will have a positive effect both for the GDR and the USSR, and for the international political climate.

In accordance with their common revolutionary traditions, the SED and CPSU will work very closely together toward introducing a new stage of comprehensive cooperation by means of intensive economic cooperation, increasing exchanges of experiences, and the promotion of human contacts.

Krenz Returns

LD0111173889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1713 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR State Council Egon Krenz returned to Berlin this evening from his working visit to Moscow.

Krenz Departs for Working Visit to Poland

LD0211115289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1106 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, left for a 1-day working visit to the Polish People's Republic this morning. He will hold talks with President Wojciech Jaruzelski; Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee; Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki; and other Polish public figures.

Krenz Seeks Trade Agreement With EC

AU0211121489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] The GDR has an interest in concluding a trade agreement with the EC soon. Chief of state Egon Krenz said at a news conference following his talks with EC Vice President Martin Bangemann today [2 November] that such an agreement would have to be based on equality and mutual benefit. He said that he did not expect the future EC single market to create any new obstacles. Krenz said that cooperation was important today because no country could isolate its economy at this time.

Bangemann said that he was in favor of giving the go-ahead for cooperation with the GDR so it could be intensified and accelerated. However, EC-GDR joint ventures required a legal form that would give EC investments a sensible framework, he said. He added that in his view such a legal form could be worked out and did not represent an unsolvable task. The economic conditions exist, because the GDR economy is on a high technical and technological level, said Bangemann.

Asked whether the GDR would admit Western capital into the country, Egon Krenz said that everything would be discussed. However, the basis for all developments was the fact that the GDR is a socialist country. Krenz added verbatim: We will neither rest nor rust; we will

make progress. He said that it was necessary, however, for the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] list to disappear totally.

EC Official Visits

LD0111174789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1624 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the GDR and the European Community in 1988, positive working contacts have been made and gradually extended. This was noted by the vice president of the EC Commission, Dr Martin Bangemann, and GDR Minister for Foreign Trade Dr Gerhard Beil, today in Berlin.

Both sides reaffirmed the desire to further develop the political, economic, industrial, and trade relations on an equal basis and to mutual advantage. In order to do this, the unimpeded or easier continuation of GDR foreign trade with the EC states should be secured with consideration given to new developments.

Also discussed were the areas of industrial property protection and conformity with current standards and systems of certification regarding the formation of the EC single market.

Martin Bangemann arrived today in Berlin at the invitation of the GDR minister for foreign trade. The visit is serving the exchange of views and information on further shaping relations between the GDR and the European Community.

Relations Discussed

LD0111195989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Dr Martin Bangemann, vice president of the EC commission, spoke in Berlin today in favor of developing relations between the GDR and the EC without delay and thus contributing to more security, to new forms of East-West economic relations and to a broader political dialogue.

Fischer said that the GDR also sees here starting points for joint efforts to deepen the transition from confrontation to cooperation that has been introduced. Europe occupies a central place in GDR foreign policy. Today it is more than ever a case of guaranteeing in the heart of Europe especially common security by political, economic and humanitarian means.

Bangemann told ADN that the talks were useful. Both sides were interested in not reaching a stage where the internal market becomes a difficult market for the GDR; on the contrary, they want trade to continue to function. It is certainly also important for the continued development of GDR-EC relations that the turning point in the GDR leads to the population seeing new prospects.

Bangemann said. Foreign Minister Fischer confirmed the intention that this process should be further developed. [passage omitted]

Gerlach Meets EC Official

LD0111213389 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1852 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach, and the vice president of the EC Commission, Dr Martin Bangemann, discussed current aspects of political and economic cooperation in the European region in Berlin this evening. The politicians were in agreement on a primarily positive evaluation of international developments. They did, however, consider necessary a further rapid and substantial improvement in the international climate through the intensification of the disarmament process.

Bangemann spoke about the development of the internal market in the EC planned for 1992, and supports an expansion of relations with the GDR. Gerlach explained to his guest the standpoint of the Liberal Democrats of the GDR on the need for far-reaching changes in socialist society and put forward his views on an economic reform that should be introduced.

During the day Bangemann also had talks with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil. His visit contributes to the exchange of opinions and information on the further shaping of relations between the GDR and the European Community.

Further on Talks

LD0111222189 Hamburg DPA in German
1847 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—According to Professor Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany (LDPD), the GDR needs a new government. A new policy could be shaped better with new people than with old people, Gerlach told journalists today after a talk with Martin Bangemann, EC commissioner and former federal economics minister.

The new state and party leader Egon Krenz is "the man we need now," Gerlach said. He is "firmly convinced" that there is no alternative to the new policy introduced with the "turning-point."

The population and the LDPD want that new policy. The best safeguard for making the policy now embarked upon irreversible is public control. "Whoever needs to hide behind words and hammers away at slogans will soon disappear," Gerlach said. The GDR is at the start of a process of reshaping society. This does not take place from the top downwards but from the bottom upwards. The GDR also needs far-reaching changes in the economy. Legislation on economic reform is needed for this.

In the GDR we must now keep a sharp eye out for people who want a free ride, Gerlach said. Safeguards must be built in to the reform process so that these free-riders do not "climb up as far as the locomotive." There are people in the GDR who had earlier spoken out against reforms and who are now in favor of them. Reforms must now be introduced "quickly, but carefully." Asked about personnel changes, Gerlach said that he is hoping for very far-reaching changes. "It cannot stop at those we have had already."

If there is a new government it would have to work in a more disciplined manner and more effectively. He said he could also imagine a reduction in members of the Council of Ministers.

On the GDR's relationship with the EC, Gerlach said he is convinced that the turning-point that has been introduced will result in considerably more favorable preconditions for political and economic cooperation. The discussion with Bangemann had passed with great constructiveness and openness. He is "very satisfied" with the discussion. The longstanding contacts between the LDPD and the FDP [Free Democratic Party] has paid off.

Bangemann said the political development in the GDR offers a chance for all the people to play a part. In the economic sphere as well many tasks have been discovered that should be solved jointly. Preparations for a treaty between the EC and the GDR are under way. He hopes that economic cooperation can be strengthened. It is important for this that GDR firms and combines react more flexibly and know what the future EC single market signifies for them. If the GDR does not succeed in developing the necessary flexibility, it will fall behind in relation to other CEMA countries. He can imagine legal frameworks for cooperation between Western and GDR firms, that do not exist at present. In the field of telecommunications too, "something is possible." No "technical chasms" should be allowed to arise.

The combines are and remain the backbone of the GDR economy, Gerlach said. The GDR will also need small and medium-sized firms and cooperatives that can react more quickly to changed demands.

During a talk between themselves, Bangemann and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer both spoke in favor of an expansion of relations between the GDR and the EC. In this the GDR also sees starting points for joint efforts "to deepen the transition from confrontation to cooperation that has been introduced," the GDR news agency ADN quoted the foreign minister as saying. Europe will occupy a central position in GDR foreign policy.

For continued development of the GDR's relations with the EC it is important, according to Bangemann, that the turning-point in the GDR leads to the population seeing new prospects. Fischer reaffirmed in the discussion that this process should be further developed.

Krenz Receives Congratulations on Elections

AU0111123389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Congratulations on Election"]

[Text] Egon Krenz has received further congratulations on his election as GDR State Council chairman from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the People's Republic of Poland; Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic; King Carl XVI Gustaf of Sweden; Jean-Pascal Delamuraz, president of the Swiss Confederation; Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique; King Juan Carlos of Spain; Chadli Bendjedid, president of the Democratic People's Republic of Algeria; Carlos Andres Perez, president of the Republic of Venezuela; Carlos Slinas de Gortari, president of the United States of Mexico; Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV State Council; Fidel Castro Ruz, chairman of the State Council and the Government of the Republic of Cuba; Mengistu Haile Mariam, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia; Oskar Lafontaine, minister president of Saarland; Khristos A. Sartzetakis, president of the Hellenic Republic; Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic; Saifuddin Ahmed Manik, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bangladesh; Hussain Mohammad Ershad, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh; Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency; Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic; Matyas Szuros, president ad interim of the Hungarian Republic; Paul Biya, president of the Republic of Cameroon; Enrique E. Tarigo, vice president and acting president of the Republic of Uruguay; Censu Tabone, president of Malta; Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, president of the Republic of Tunisia; and Demetris Christofias, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus.

Expresses Thanks

AU0111145789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 27 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] I express my very cordial thanks for the many good wishes, which I received on my election as general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and as GDR State Council chairman from all parts of the population. Unfortunately, because of the great number of letters, I am unable to personally thank all senders. The many suggestions, ideas, and critical assessments, which I received together with the congratulations, will be thoroughly evaluated and will be included in the preparation of the 10th SED Central Committee session and the 12th SED Congress.

Egon Krenz.

'Thousands' Travel to CSSR; More in Embassy

AU0111184089 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Thousands of GDR citizens have traveled to the CSSR today, after the temporary suspension of passport and visa-free travel was again abolished as of midnight. By afternoon the number of travelers reached about 8,000. From Dresden's main railroad station the passenger train, which had been temporarily suspended, resumed its travel to Decin.

According to information from Prague, in the meantime several hundred GDR citizens have again reportedly gone to the FRG Embassy to force their emigration in this way.

3,000 Vehicles Expected

LD0111181789 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1730 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Thousands of GDR citizens today passed through the border crossing points to the CSSR. At midnight the temporary suspension of passport and visa-free travel was lifted. By this afternoon around 8,000 citizens were travelling to the neighboring country.

This morning a passenger train that had been temporarily out of service left Dresden station for Decin. Until the change in the regulations on 3 October, many daily visitors had used this train connection to visit the CSSR city close to the border.

At the Zinnwald crossing point, about 3,000 vehicles are expected daily over the weekend.

20,000 Demonstrate in Neubrandenburg

LD0111203489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1940 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Many citizens in a number of GDR towns again demonstrated for the implementation of their demands.

After a prayer for peace in St John's Church in Neubrandenburg a parade of around 20,000 citizens formed and set off through the city center to Karl-Marx-Square, where they were able to express their standpoints and views. Mayor Heinz Hahn proposed setting up initiative groups of interested citizens within the standing commissions to discuss questions of urban development with the population. [passage omitted]

Tisch Resigns Position as Chairman of FDGB

LD0211092689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0912 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch resigned from the office of chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] National Executive today. He headed the FDGB for 15 years.

This morning the National Executive resumed its 10th session, broken off on 30 October.

Kimmel Proposed for Chair

LD0211101889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0948 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] National Executive this morning proposed the Annelis Kimmel should be elected chairwoman of the National Executive. The 55-year-old skilled mechanic has been in the leadership of the Berlin trade union organization for 10 years.

On behalf of the presidium, Kurt Zahn called on the members and candidate members of the National Executive to discuss this proposal or to submit new proposals.

Annelis Kimmel asked for permission to submit her initial ideas about the future work of the FDGB so as to provide a basis for a decision on electing a new chairperson.

Kimmel Elected

LD0211105189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1024 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Annelis Kimmel is the new Free German Trade Union Federation FDGB national Executive chairman. She was elected to the highest post of the FDGB today by the National Executive members in the open election with 174 votes in favor and 2 abstentions.

States Policy

AU0211114389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Annelis Kimmel will chair the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB]. She was elected by the National Executive Council in an open ballot this morning with 174 votes and two abstentions. Annelis Kimmel will replace Harry Tisch who resigned after 15 years at the top of the FDGB.

Following her nomination, Annelis Kimmel said in a statement on principle that a major opportunity was being presented to the FDGB at a time of social departure. She said that with the wisdom and readiness of all 9 million members, it would be possible to find the way to genuine renewal. The protection of their interests had to be the most important principle, she said. She added that everybody should react to her proposals in a way that was marked by openness to everything new, because everybody should be better off as a result of good work. This also made it necessary to consistently and doggedly implement the trade union's independence toward state authorities and organs, she said. She stressed that the trade unions had to demonstrate a more principled attitude toward the government and had to define their policy in public.

Subject to the condition that everything should be done for the people's welfare on the basis of socialism, the FDGB relied on the cooperation of all; it was open to all, Annelis Kimmel said, who also emphatically advocated maintaining the unity of trade unions.

Further on Resignation

LD0211121789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0934 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Harry Tisch (62) resigned from the office of chairman of the FDGB [Free German Trades Union Federation] National Executive today. He headed the organisation since 1975.

The National Executive resumed its 10th session in Berlin this morning after a 2-day interruption, thus complying with a demand by several area organizations and individual FDGB unions. On Monday [30 October] the decision on the future of the chairman was initially postponed until 17 November. Harry Tisch is a member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee.

The area organizations in Dresden, Erfurt, and Berlin, the scientific trade union, the trade union of state bodies and local industry, and the agricultural, food and forestry trade union had however demanded an immediate continuation to the session and Tisch's resignation.

The Dresden Area Executive said this was necessary because of the numerous spontaneous resignations, and the threat of further resignations, and said it believed that the "existence of our class organization is under acute threat." [passage omitted]

Union Chairman Resigns

LD0111194189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1651 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the Central Executive of the Metals Industrial Trade Union [IG Metall] in the GDR trade union federation FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation], Gerhard Nennstiel, is resigning from his position.

In a statement to this effect made by the Secretariat of the Central Executive, which was conveyed to ADN this afternoon, it says that the Secretariat of the Central Executive of IG Metall had, with great consternation, learned through an article in the *BERLINER ZEITUNG* of the same day "about the size and scale of the house which the chairman of the Central Executive of IG Metall, colleague Gerhard Nennstiel, had had built for himself."

The problems that have become known to the trade union and the public through this article affected the Secretariat to a very great extent. "With this the relationship of trust between the members and the chairman was considerably undermined. In the interests of the trust of the members of IG Metall, in their central executive and its credibility, the

Secretariat of the Central Executive has had a thorough discussion with colleague Gerhard Nennstiel.

"During this discussion colleague Nennstiel commented on these accusations and made a statement. The Secretariat of the Central Executive approved the application from colleague Nennstiel to be relieved of the post of chairman of the Central Executive of IG Metall, and decided to convene a special session of the Central Executive of IG Metall for this on 7 November 1989."

The secretariat has ensured that an investigation of all the circumstances will take place through the competent state organs and that the results will be made public.

SED's Schabowski, Neumann Talk to Workers

AU3010135389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN report: "What Berlin Cable Workers Expect of the Next Central Committee Plenum"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday afternoon [23 October] Alfred Neumann, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and People's Chamber deputy of the constituency, and Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk SED leadership, held a frank and critical exchange of views with working people of the Berlin parent enterprise of the Oberspree Cable Works, which also yielded many suggestions and proposals from the cable workers. After talks at the work places in the copper works and the central elastic substances-processing facility, they attended a discussion with workers and engineers, party secretaries, departmental trade union chairmen, and young people. As everywhere these days, a broad range of questions were discussed—from the expectations placed on the social development of the country to trade union responsibility, questions involving travel and subsidies, to specific working and living conditions in the Oberspree Cable Works. As during the talks with working people of the "7 October" Combine and the Bergmann-orsig Enterprise, questions of management of the national economy and the combine as well as the conditions for creative work and work that is evaluated in line with one's performance were the focal points of the discussion. [passage omitted]

SED CC Thanks People for Letters

AU3110105289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 26 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN report: "SED Central Committee Thanks for Letters and Proposals"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] receives hundreds of letters every day from all strata of the population, in which members of the party as well as of the friendly parties, non-party citizens, and work and party collectives present their ideas and proposals for the

further development of socialism in the GDR. These letters express shared responsibility but also concern for the further flourishing of our socialist fatherland.

It is impossible to answer all letters in writing. Therefore, the SED Central Committee thanks the senders in this way and assures them that it will conscientiously evaluate the letters. The ideas and proposals will be included in the preparation of the 10th Central Committee session and will also appear in the party press in connection with tackling questions that concern our party's further policy.

Jarowski Calls for Economic Reform

LD2710195589 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 1802 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member Werner Jarowsky believes the time has come to have a comprehensive economic reform. It should be clarified how the schedule reflects the need and how fast the need can be met.

Jarowsky criticized palliation when he talked with buyers and employees of the "Zentrum Department Store" in Berlin-Hauptbahnhof. He said sometimes there was the impression that the GDR had just two sides—a beautiful one and a very beautiful one. He added that figures on turnover should not make themselves independent. Things should always be looked upon with the eyes of the customers.

When GDR Radio asked him about the so-called Berlin shopping tourism by GDR citizens from the bezirke [areas], he said that was no good in the long run. The supply of goods should not be reduced for Berlin and the supply should be enhanced everywhere.

Dresden Authorities Discuss Problems

LD2710165589 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1933 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—Extraordinary sessions of the City Assembly and the Bezirk Diet of Dresden were devoted today to solving current problems and to the future development of the city and the Bezirk. The deputies and citizens held a lively debate at these.

The plenary session ended after almost 9 hours of debate at the city hall with the unanimous decision to form temporary working groups within the standing commissions of the City Assembly. Among the local topics and social topics as a whole were socialism's social strategy, construction and housing, nature and the environment, comprehensive urban development, and young people realizing their potential. [passage omitted]

Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer submitted a package of proposals on raising the efficiency of the national economy within the city and solving local problems. Included in this are reduction in expenditure on administration, a higher contribution by local enterprises to city finances, an amended subsidy policy in housing, energy and culture

right up to housing policy and new basic principles of taxation to improve performance. [passage omitted]

Dialogue and discussion in Dresden Bezirk now have to be translated into actions in which all the ideas and suggestions by citizens are reflected. Bezirk Government Chairman Gunther Witteck appealed to the 1.8 million inhabitants with this proposal at the plenary session of the extraordinary meeting of the Dresden Bezirk diet. He analysed the situation which has arisen for the deputies, which, he said, could be put down to the violation of the Leninist norms of socialist democracy and the information policy practiced right up to a few days ago.

This year approximately 22,000 citizens from the bezirk left the GDR, including 600 doctors and members of intermediate medical personnel, so far 1,300 workers in trade and supply, and 1,280 in construction and transportation. An extremely critical situation, which was also expressed in the demonstrations and in citizens being greatly unsettled, has arisen through this and through structural failings resulting from decisions by central government. [passage omitted]

Witteck gave a briefing on immediate measures that have been introduced. Thus, students from the bezirk's higher and further education institutes are to be deployed in transportation and freight handling, as well as in the health service and trade. In this bureaucratic modes of behavior were noted by managers who waited for ministerial decisions. By reducing management and administrative personnel from the current 16 percent of the labor force to 13 percent, 30,000 workers will be gained, the government chairman remarked. The National People's Army is also offering assistance in the bezirk with 200 truck and construction machinery drivers.

Proposals for solving problems of the availability of consumer goods, equipping trade technically as well as those of the health service, in agriculture, housing construction, and environmental protection will be passed on to the government. Thus the 15 necessary and envisaged plans on reducing the emission of pollutants in the bezirk alone requires as much investment as 2 years of the bezirk's housing construction. [passage omitted]

Musicians' Association Sends Letter to Krenz

LD2710152489 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1812 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium and chairmen of the Area (Bezirk) Associations of the Composers and Musicologists Association of the GDR have addressed an open letter to Egon Krenz. In the letter, which was passed after a passionate debate lasting several hours, the participants of the extraordinary meeting, which was convened at the request of many association members, noted on Thursday in Berlin a "deep social crisis" in the GDR. The path to date, social causes, and mechanisms, which have led to this crisis, should be recognized with full responsibility, depth of thought, and courage to see the truth.

"Taking the political platform of the peace struggle, anti-fascism, and the humanist ideals of socialism as a starting point, essential areas of the social order should be restructured," it says further. The association representatives see the carrying through of openness in political work by the government, People's Chamber, media, functionaries, and political institutions as "tasks which must be argued about in a non-violent way." They support a new electoral law, which takes into account the political maturity of citizens, the admission of political organizations and associations, which do not contravene the Constitution through their aims, and the creation of a constitutional and administrative jurisdiction.

The Presidium and chairmen of the Area (Bezirk) Associations argue for the right to peaceful demonstrations, for the right of all citizens to travel to all countries, and the right to free choice of residence. The performance principle should be realized in all areas of society.

Economic reforms should be at the center of restructuring. The school and education system should be shaped in such a way that it promotes creativity and responsibility. "All state organs, including the Ministry for State Security, should be monitorable as to the constitutionality of their actions and should be presented publicly."

Environmental problems should be explained openly. From the view of the present, a new, truthful picture of history should be written, deformations in socialism should "be analyzed ruthlessly, as they are manifested, for example, in Stalinism, in the personality cult, in bureaucratism, and in the economy for the privileged."

It says finally in the letter: "Only when our society brings both the hard-fought-for bourgeois freedoms and rights of the individual and the achievements of the revolutionary workers' movement to full development will we arrive at an attractive socialism."

Next CC Session To Bring Personnel Reshuffle

AU2710153389 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
26 Oct 89 p 1

["Co./D.D./UR." report: "Honecker's Confidants Have To Go. Krenz Seeks Advice From Gorbachev"]

[Text] Bonn/Berlin—The leadership change in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) is spreading: According to information gathered by DIE WELT, at the next Central Committee session from 8 to 10 November, Politburo members Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, Erich Mielke, and Erich Mueckenberger are to be replaced. All four of them are over 75 and are considered to be strictly orthodox. Furthermore, in East Berlin it is assumed that Colonel General Horst Stechbarth will replace Defense Minister Heinz Kessler (also a Politburo member).

After last week, party chief Erich Honecker and Politburo members Joachim Hermann and Guenther Mittag had to resign, with this, the number of leadership members who have been replaced would reach 21. Influential

circles in Bonn expect that Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden SED Bezirk leadership, who is considered an advocate of reforms, will become a Politburo member and will perhaps take over the "Agitation and Propaganda" Department. It is also conceivable that Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski will succeed Mittag as Central Committee Secretary for economic affairs. In the past he negotiated a billion-deutsche mark loan for the GDR with Franz Josef Strauss, then chairman of the Christian Social Union.

The Central Committee session, where these personnel questions are to be decided, should actually have taken place today. However, at the decision of the Politburo, it has been postponed by 2 weeks—obviously in consideration of the planned visit to Moscow by the new SED General Secretary and State Council Chairman Egon Krenz. Probably, Krenz does not want to start the comprehensive personnel changes without consulting with Kremlin head Mikhail Gorbachev, in particular since he seems to have decided to present the new leadership to the public not "in installments" but "all at once." This is also indicated by the fact that the next Central Committee session is to take 3 and not, as usual, only 2 days.

There are persistent rumors in East Berlin that former espionage chief Markus ("Mischa") Wolf will take over a leading post in the state apparatus. An indication of this, in addition to his repeated advocacy of reforms, particularly is the fact that Wolf, who retired at his own wish in 1987, appeared as a colonel general in public last week. On Wednesday evening [25 October] he said in a discussion with Baerbel Bohley: "We have to make a policy with the face toward the people."

It can already be assumed that on 8 November in Bonn there will not be a joint resolution of the Bundestag groups on the report on the state of the nation. The union is working on its own draft resolution, which is to contain the term reunification in line with the will of the group leadership.

CDU Demands Legalization of New Forum

AU0111143889 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Wolfgang Halle, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) group in the People's Chamber, has protested against the decision of the interior minister not to admit New Forum. It is necessary that it can become active on a legal basis, Halle noted. According to information of the Interior Ministry's press office, the protest will be examined.

Lawyers Demand Increase of Legal Security

AU0111153289 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 1 Nov

[Text] Gregor Gysi, chairman of the GDR Lawyers College has resolutely advocated extending the legal order of the GDR on the basis of the Constitution.

Today he told Voice of the GDR that laws and regulations including the election law, the penal code, the tax law and trade and industry regulations must be reviewed. This also includes the assembly and events regulations, which so far have not always been in accordance with the Constitution, he said. It is important to increase the legal security of the citizens. No institution must be permitted any longer to treat the law as it wants. Rights and duties must apply to all citizens in the same way. One has to remove formulas that make many things possible but also impossible. It is the objective of the lawyers to turn the terms GDR, socialism, and rule of law into an inseparable unity, Gysi concluded.

People's Chamber Group Admits Lack of Control

AU0111153589 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Today the People's Chamber Citizens' Petition Committee self-critically admitted that it did not urge resolutely and directly enough that grievances be overcome. Chairman Ulrich Fahl submitted ideas for a new working style. All central bodies, including the State Council, ought to be subjected to unrestricted control. Infringements on the rights of local people's representative bodies must also stop, he said. It is necessary that public life be strictly based on constitutional standards. According to a recent announcement from the Council of Ministers, Ulrich Fahl announced that the draft of the new travel law will be published in the press for public discussion within the next few days. It will be submitted to the plenum of the People's Chamber which will have to discuss and vote on it in November, he concluded.

Opposition Wants SED To Renounce Lead Role

LD0111174489 Hamburg DPA in German
1600 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The members of the GDR opposition movement, Baerbel Bohley ("New Forum") and Ulrike Pappe ("Democracy Now"), have demanded from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) that it renounce its leading role. In an interview with the STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, Frau Bohley was skeptical about the dialogue announced by GDR state and party leader Egon Krenz: "I fear that the type of talks that are now being held are intended to prevent the reforms from really getting under way... The party leadership is naturally interested in it just remaining talk." Frau Pappe demanded in an interview with the same newspaper that the SED allow other parties and citizens' initiatives to stand for election. Her organization "Democracy Now" is planning to stand, together with others, at the next election.

Both opposition politicians stressed that under present conditions reunification is out of the question. "A type of reunification in which we would be annexed to the Federal Republic would mean heteronomy again. We must carry out our reforms alone first," Frau Pappe said.

The interviews were conveyed to DPA in an edited version.

Revision of SED Statutes, Election System Urged

AU0211094289 East Berlin Voice of GDR
Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] The Academy of Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] believes that the present climate in the GDR represents a challenge. At a meeting of the institute's party aktiv, it was said that new research work should promote dialogue. To this end, an informal dialogue with social groups and the church should be held. Priority should be given to propagandistic work in the party organizations.

The participants in the meeting called for the collective and individual responsibility for the critical aggravation of the domestic policy situation to be clarified. They said that the causes of the increasing number of problems were the hollowing-out of internal party democracy and the violation of the party statutes. They stated that in order to prevent this in the future, the SED statutes and election system had to be revised.

Rector Sends Open Letter to Humboldt University

AU3110105389 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG
in German 25 Oct 89 p 3

["Open Letter to All Members of the Berlin Humboldt University" by the rector and the Senate of the Berlin Humboldt University]

[Text] The Senate of the Berlin Humboldt University welcomes the fact that the ninth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has initiated a turn toward a profound renewal of the socialist society in the GDR and makes adaptations allowing it to forge ahead in this development as quickly as possible. At this session, the path toward the re-establishment of the party leadership's capability has been embarked upon. At the same time, all citizens and members of our University are called upon in a new way to participate in solving the problems of our country's development, which move us all so deeply.

The Senate proceeds from the premise that the 10th SED Central Committee session has to face a great challenge. It must make its contribution to a thorough analysis of the current situation and the reasons for it. It has the task of clearly outlining—as far as currently possible—the social strategy for a turn toward a new, higher quality of socialism, for a new stage in the cycle of socialist revolution, and the task of putting up for discussion an immediate program, which consolidates trust. We expect that the People's Chamber and all other social organizations of our country, in communication with all people who formulate their concerns and proposals, will also examine the reasons for the current situation and propose ways to master the open problems.

In our university we have started a constructive, open and public dialogue about our own qualified contribution, which corresponds to the responsibility and the potential of the university, to overcome as quickly as possible the current political crisis and the critical economic processes in the country.

We want to participate in the new start of our country with the achievements of scientists, students, workers, employees, and nurses in the areas of medicine, engineering, natural, agricultural, and social sciences. This includes a critical exposure of all obstacles to higher performances at the university, with the goal of fully developing the values of socialism.

We express our support for the view that our university has a high responsibility for scientific and intellectual leadership and for working out decision options for further social development. We want to contribute our scientific results to a development of socialism in the GDR, which, despite the present efforts, does not overlook our shared responsibility for solving the global problems of mankind. Much rather, we are aiming at contributing to our social strategy and its practical implementation, which help a new, peace- and environment-oriented development of mankind, aimed at the social mastery of scientific-technological progress, to gain ground. We will put the scientific insights and model ideas, which we have already worked out at our university, up for discussion by the broad public and will help to establish in a new way a unity of science and public.

Constructively, open toward necessary changes in society as a precondition for preserving the achievements, and with prudence, we are aiming with special intensity at contributing to the following problem areas:

- determined further development of a concept of socialism, which is able to give socialism a second breath;
- development of a political system of socialism, which is suited to moving from a strongly nationalized society to a political society, in which the necessary decisions involving all of society are based on the process of the formation of a democratic consensus, in which the interests of the individuals lead to the full utilization of their abilities for the strengthening of socialism, and in which the rule of law makes deformations [Deformationen] impossible;
- restructuring of the economic mechanism to raise the combines' and enterprises' own responsibility for self-financing and for the use of their financial means for innovations, and establishment of the conditions for the functioning of the performance principle;
- basic questions of the development of personality, for which it is of considerable importance so that the people can develop their individuality and thus live up to the humanistic nature of socialism;
- solving ecological problems as a field of tasks, which deserves new importance in the overall social strategy;

—interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary peace research, in order to convincingly counter the efforts to eliminate socialism on German soil.

We call on all University members to actively and constructively participate in the dialogue as responsible citizens and, at the same time, to support our socialist state and its prospects with outstanding labor achievements at their work place, regardless whether this is in studies, in medical care, in research and teaching, or in the service and administrative field. Particularly important in this connection is the development of the student's co-responsibility. Only together will we enforce the necessary democratic reforms.

The Senate expresses its solidarity with the students' striving to demonstrate their responsibility through democratic participation in all processes of the University and supports the establishment of structures which can utilize this attitude in a more productive way.

We welcome the initiative of the kreis leadership of the Free Germany Youth [FDJ] of Humboldt University to found a socialist students' association in the FDJ, which is able to represent the specific interests of the students much more effectively than has been done so far and which gives room to a socialist variety of opinions and different ideologies. Furthermore, we consider it urgently necessary to strengthen the students' representation in the University's Scientific Council, which is to be newly formed in November.

We consider it important that in this highest democratic body of our interests, the interests of all students are appropriately represented and expressed. Therefore, we propose that over the next few days, the students in the departments and institutes and in the area of medicine democratically elect in plenary sessions their representatives for the Scientific Council and its bodies.

The material and intellectual values, created in the GDR over the past 40 years, are also our achievements. With our daily work we pledge our support for them and thus establish the preconditions for the creative renewal of socialism in the GDR.

We want to adapt the concept of development of our university fully to the new tasks that have emerged. All critical and constructive proposals are needed for this. The Senate is open to any proposals.

Berlin, 24 October 1989.

Rector and Senate of the Berlin Humboldt University.

Stoph Suggests More Accountability in Economy

AU3110153889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[ADN report: "How Does the Council of Ministers Approach Its New Tasks?"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—Last week the GDR Government dealt with the supply of high-quality goods and services in line with the plan and with contracts, with supplies in retail trade, and with services for the population. This was stated by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, in an interview for the "News on Camera" [Aktuelle Kamera] television cast and GDR radio on Thursday [26 October]. Great efforts are being made to tangibly improve production and the supply of spare parts, technical consumer goods, and textile materials, in particular, knit underwear.

The text of the interview is as follows:

Television: In his first speech in the People's Chamber the new State Council chairman spoke of a necessary new way of working of the government. He said that the Council of Ministers must be an organ of the People's Chamber. What does the chairman of the Council of Ministers say about this?

Stoph: As envisaged in the Constitution, the Council of Ministers is an organ of the People's Chamber. What is important is that the Council of Ministers, as an organ of the People's Chamber, is shaping its work in line with the new situation and the changes in the situation. Immediately after the ninth session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the Council of Ministers made a first evaluation of the guideline issued there regarding its future work. I can say here with complete authority, that the Council of Ministers completely agrees with the decisions of this session and with the speech of the State Council chairman in the People's Chamber. It is now necessary, as Comrade Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee stated, that the GDR Council of Ministers be able to completely fulfill its constitutional tasks as the government of the worker-peasant power and also does so.

In further implementation of the constitutional assignment, the government will make its contribution to the necessary change in the development of our society and of the socialist state. This means to lead the unified implementation of the state's policy and to organize the fulfillment of the political, economic, cultural, and social, as well as defense tasks, as the Constitution orders.

In the past, many positive things were achieved for the GDR and its citizens, things which exist today and will also exist tomorrow. However, in particular over the past few years, many problems have accumulated, which are being discussed frankly and, sometimes, very passionately during these days and weeks. In the Council of Ministers, too, a frank and critical discussion took place on many of these questions, a discussion which has led to first conclusions. This applies to supplies of goods and services to the population, the supply of spare parts, questions of environmental protection, and many other things.

On principle, the issue is that in the future, the government is to fulfill its tasks, which are aimed at the welfare of the people, even better and more effectively.

I would like to say here that I consider it necessary and useful to account to a greater extent for our actions to the People's Chamber, the supreme organ of our socialist state. This goes both for the Council of Ministers as a whole and for each of its members. In evaluating the ninth Central Committee session, we proceeded from the overall responsibility of the Council of Ministers as a collective organ and also from each minister's responsibility for his sphere of work. In line with the unity of renewal and continuity, we will constructively continue what has proved its worth in the past, and we will study where changes in the work of the Council of Ministers or of its members are necessary. This is how we understand reforms and other measures, which are aimed at consolidating socialism in our country.

The analysis, which has to be carried out, will, I am sure, lead to realistic proposals for the further development of our national economy and of the entire social life.

They have the aim of tangibly improving the citizens' material and cultural standard of living on the basis of increasing productivity and efficiency, in particular in the national economy. This will be the main component of the government's work program. In this connection, I can tell you that at its next session the Council of Ministers will discuss the draft of a travel law and will subsequently put it up for public discussion.

I would like to stress here that everything we are tackling now can only involve realistic targets, which correspond to the possibilities of our economy and are supported by the citizens. This presupposes involving the citizens considerably more in the preparation of state decisions and better utilizing their ideas, criticism, and proposals.

I see a basic consequence for our work in the fact that the Council of Ministers as a whole and each of its members completely accept their responsibility for society. The same goes for the work of all local councils, as it is set down in the Law on Local Elected Assemblies.

An important element in this is the continuation of the tested comradely cooperation of all parties represented in the Council of Ministers and of our cooperation with the social organizations.

The functionaries of the state and economic apparatus at all levels always have to think of all aspects of their decisions and—if necessary—have to underpin them with well-founded input-output calculations. What is necessary is independent responsibility, actions with initiatives, a bold and courageous turn toward new things, toward what is better for our socialist society and its citizens. In this we will also cooperate most closely with the mass media.

Radio: During these days emergency measures are often mentioned. Emergency measures, obviously, to solve the most urgent problems. What is the Council of Ministers doing, for instance, so that progress, which is visible to everyone, is achieved in supplies?

Stoph: Last week the government dealt with the supplies of high-quality goods and services in line with the plan and with contracts, with supplies in retail trade, and with services for the population.

Decisions were made on additional imports of technical consumer goods and foodstuffs. We are making great efforts for increased production and better supplies of spare parts, technical consumer goods, and textile materials, in particular knit underwear. Here I would also like to mention the measures to improve the transportation of supplies. Furthermore, equipment and spare parts for meat processing and the mill industry will be made available during the fourth quarter of this year.

These and other measures, which have been initiated, will be followed by others. Nevertheless, we must be aware that it is impossible to solve all pressing problems at the same time. Solutions to a number of these tasks will be proposed in the 1990 draft national economic plan. In preparation for the 12th SED Congress, the guideline for the development of the national economy in the 1991-95 period will have to yield possibilities for solutions in order to implement the decisions of the ninth SED Central Committee session.

One word on our yardsticks for judging progress in the field of supplies: We will no longer measure the contribution which every enterprise had to make to supplies for the population, by abstract growth rates, some sort of targets, or statistical average values.

Let me affirm this once again: The starting point for any progress in our national economy is the safeguarding of planned, proportionate development, which corresponds to the economic laws of socialism. In the past, deviations and misdevelopments were permitted in this sector, which, in the end, led to the well-known difficulties. Here I only mention supplies of spare parts, problems with subcontractors, questions of supplies of selected products to the population, and some other things which are being animatedly discussed at present. Only with clear stocktaking and undisguised analysis can we shape our production, which is oriented toward stabilization and a further improvement of the people's standard of living, in such a way that the citizens' demands are covered better and the increasing requirements are increasingly better met in the future. This will be possible only step by step. We do what we can. We can consume only the things we have previously produced. The state leaders—starting with the Council of Ministers—have to ensure the necessary material conditions for this.

Television: There is no doubt that the trust in the government has suffered. How can the cooperation with the population be developed despite this or, perhaps, because of this?

Stoph: The Government and the entire state apparatus have to serve the people without reservations. In the collective of the Council of Ministers we are aware of the fact that hard work and well thought-out decisions are

necessary everywhere in the interest of the people in order to consolidate the citizens' trust in the government or to reestablish it.

Proposals, suggestions, criticism, and applications have to be taken seriously everywhere and by everyone, and have to be used in everyday work. To a greater extent, government members will hold consultations with collectives in enterprises, institutions, and regions. The government is for a frank and honest dialogue with all citizens. It is willing to take up the citizens' thoughts and questions and together seek solutions which correspond to the interests of the people and are aimed at the further development of socialism.

Radio: An important demand, an important problem in local politics is increasing one's own responsibility. I know that yesterday evening you had a long meeting with the chairmen of the bezirk councils. What will change in this respect?

Stoph: The meeting served to evaluate the ninth SED Central Committee session, and a comprehensive exchange of experiences and views took place with the representatives of the local organs on the current situation in the country and on the fulfillment of the 1989 national economic plan. The discussion dealt with the expansion of the bases for a good local policy, the strengthening of the responsibility of the councils of the bezirke and kreise, of the towns and villages. Many proposals were made for this, which will be thoroughly examined. It is necessary to activate the work of the enterprises for housing construction, municipal services, and for the supply and service facilities. It was proposed to grant the local councils greater responsibility for housing construction and the construction of public buildings and facilities, which, with the inclusion of the citizens, enables them to decide what is built when and where.

All our experiences show that questions that concern the people in the regions cannot be taken too seriously by those responsible. These and other questions of practical work were the subject of the meeting.

It is decisive that the local policy is supported to a greater extent by the elected deputies and by the proposals and suggestions of the citizens. All citizens should feel comfortable in the towns where they live; they must feel that they are needed and can participate in decisionmaking. Today the advice and actions of every individual are particularly needed.

3d Airbus for Interflug Arrives in Berlin

AU3010134289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 24 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Third Airbus for Interflug Has Arrived"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [23 October] another large-capacity plane of the A 310-Intercontinental type landed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport, coming from Toulouse. Thus, the GDR airlines has

three of these modern planes, which were developed and built specifically for Interflug by the West European consortium Airbus Industries. Like its predecessors, which were put into service in July, the Airbus, which has a capacity of 208 passengers, will be used mainly for long-distance flights.

Regular Air Traffic With FRG To Continue

AU0111213389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Regular Flights Between GDR and FRG Will Continue"]

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—Regular flights between Leipzig and Duesseldorf and between Frankfurt/Main and Leipzig, which were agreed on at the beginning of August by the GDR airlines Interflug and the German Lufthansa and were originally limited until 31 October, can be continued. As Minister of the Chancellery Rudolf Seiters announced in Bonn, the GDR Government has approved—after consultations with its allies—the continuation of regular flights between the FRG and the GDR until 1 February 1990.

On Friday [27 October] Interflug Director General Klaus Henkes told ADN that Interflug had been interested in establishing regular flights between the GDR and the FRG for quite some time and had established the preconditions for this. He assessed the permission for continuing the flights as a further step toward improving relations between the two states.

In line with the "Germany Treaty," the FRG is permitted to conclude air traffic agreements only after consultations with the Western allies. Even though Lufthansa applied for an extension of the agreement already in September, the Western allies had objections because they were concerned that their monopoly granted by this treaty would be endangered.

Plan by 'Neo-Nazi' To Travel to GDR Rejected

AU0111205189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 1

[Werner Micke commentary: "This One? Never!"]

[Text] According to what he told DPA, SS-man Schoenhuber wants to visit the GDR. The former member of the "Adolf Hitler" SS-Leibstandarte [special SS unit] and present chairman of the neo-Nazi "Republicans" in the FRG said boldly that in the GDR he expects "even greater support than in the FRG." Anti-communism will become his party's "driving force," he said.

The leading neo-Nazi misunderstands the situation completely. The point is not the elimination of socialism in the GDR, but its renewal and strengthening. The social debate that has been initiated in our country aims at fully accentuating the socialist values in the interest and for the benefit of the whole nation and of every citizen.

As a matter of course, this includes determined antifascism which has always pleasantly distinguished the GDR from the FRG. In any case he will make the attempt because the GDR cannot deny entry to him because he is a deputy of the European Parliament, Schoenhuber announced. He is wrong. The neo-Nazi will certainly not enter our Republic. This one never!

Environmental Projects With FRG Discussed

AU3010194289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 25 Oct 89 p 6

[ADN report: "GDR-FRG Projects for the Protection of Air and Water"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [24 October] in Berlin, Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, received Egon Herfeldt, FRG representative for the GDR-FRG agreement on environmental protection, for a talk on questions of scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the FRG in environmental protection. The guest was in Berlin for negotiations between the representatives of both sides.

The focal issue was the implementation of six environmental protection pilot projects, which are implemented by both states in the GDR. They were agreed by Minister Reichelt and FRG Environmental Minister Klaus Toepfer in Bonn last July on the basis of the agreements signed in September 1987 by the governments of the GDR and the FRG on the further shaping of the relations in environmental protection. The requirements on the basis of which interested FRG companies will present offers for the delivery and construction of the facilities by the end of November were also discussed.

With the construction of the six facilities, new insights and results in engineering and technology for environmental protection—in particular for keeping air and water clean—are to be tested, which is of benefit both for the citizens of the GDR and for the citizens of the FRG and of Berlin (West). This refers to the use of fluidized bed combustion for the desulfurization of flue gas, for the considerable reduction of the emission of sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, and dust, and for the more efficient use of raw brown coal in two heating plants of different size in Magdeburg and Staaken near Berlin.

In two other facilities in the Buna Chemical Works State-Owned Enterprise, mercury is to be filtered out of waste water and recycled, which reduces the amounts of mercury getting into the Saale River by about one-fourth. With the construction of a facility for high-temperature combustion of waste products in the Dresden area, the pollution of the Elbe River with chlorous waste water from production will be reduced. All this also leads to a better condition of the water of the North Sea and its surrounding areas.

The use of high-capacity measuring technology and other instruments is to contribute to the establishment and development of environmental monitoring, to the establishment of an early-warning system, as well as to the

comparison of data, and the exchange of data between the two German states in case of smog.

Herbell Commentary Criticizes Bluem Statements

AU3110120889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 26 Oct 89 p 1

[Hajo Herbell commentary: "Disturbing"]

[Text] We come back to this once again. Not because we do not have any other ideas, but because the things we are talking about are not coming to a halt in Bonn—the arrogant interference in our internal affairs.

Yesterday Mr Bluem [FRG minister of labor and social affairs] distinguished himself. First with a platitude. According to DIE WELT, which is published by the Springer publishing house, "Bluem warns the rulers in East Berlin: You must know that you are standing on a brightly lit stage." Thank you for this staggering piece of news. But then Bluem shoots off: It is decisive; Bluem expects; Bluem calls for; it is necessary; he harshly criticized; it cannot be tolerated; Bluem demands—and it continues in this style (all these are original quotes from DIE WELT).

What do those who interfere think of the sovereignty of others and their right to self-determination?

We recommend that they read Egon Krenz's speech at the People's Chamber. In particular what he said about our desire for expanding relations with the FRG. In this process, however, the other side's attempts to interfere may prove to be disturbing....

Physicians Criticize French Nuclear Tests

AU0111192089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 28-29 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Physicians Criticize Nuclear Tests"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The French nuclear test on the South Pacific test site of the Mururoa Atoll, which took place on Wednesday [25 October], is a reason for the GDR section of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War [IPPNW] to publicly express again and with emphasis the demand of the international physicians' movement to prevent a nuclear war for the immediate cessation of such tests and their ban on the basis of international law. A statement by Heinrich Niemann, responsible secretary of the GDR Section, which was published on the same day, refers to a corresponding statement by Moritz Mebel, chairman of the GDR physicians' movement, in connection with the Soviet nuclear test on 19 October. In accordance with the "Appeal of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," which was passed by the ninth IPPNW World Congress in Hiroshima, the statement points out the key role of nuclear tests in the development of qualitatively new, even more lethal weapons, and the dangers that emanate from these tests for people's health and the environment. No other single measure could brake the arms race more strongly than a ban of all nuclear explosions.

This statement was sent to the ambassadors of the USSR, the United States, and the French Republic in the GDR.

Nemeth Letter to Soviet Ryzhkov Handed to Envoy*LD0111214189 Budapest MTI in English
1219 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Moscow, November 1 (MTI)—Ivan Aboymov, Soviet deputy minister of foreign affairs, has met Janos Barabas, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Hungary to Moscow, on the request of the Hungarian diplomat.

Mr Barabas presented the letter of Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth to his counterpart, Nikolay Ryzhkov, concerning current issues of bilateral economic cooperation.

Minister Marothy, USSR's Vorontsov Sign Accord*LD0111214289 Budapest MTI in English
2015 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—A Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental agreement on environmental protection was signed on Wednesday by Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management, and Nikolay Vorontsov, chairman of the State Committee of the Soviet Union for Environmental Protection.

The Soviet guest was received by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy on Wednesday. He also met members of the Environmentalist Committee of the National Assembly.

CSSR Ready To Begin Diversion of Danube*LD0111174389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 1 Oct 89*

[Text] Ivan Szello has spoken with Josef Oblozinski, one of the leaders on the Czechoslovak water barrage building work.

[Begin recording] [Szello] To my question of when would our northern neighbors begin to dig the diversionary canal, Mr Oblozinski said the following:

[Oblozinski in vernacular fading into report by Szello] We shall begin work within 24 hours of receiving government notification. The Czechoslovak Government is correct, thus, it abides by interstate agreements. We do not violate these, like you do. Naturally, we do what we resolve to do. The Hungarian side cannot have a harmful impact on us, he stressed.

Then, he continued: We shall build this marvellous power station on our own territory. We are not interested in a decision by the Hungarian Parliament. We are ready, even now, to divert the Danube.

Nemeth To Hold Talks in Belgrade 3-4 Nov*LD0111211289 Budapest MTI in English
1214 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is to pay a friendly, working visit to Belgrade on November 3-4. He will be accompanied by

Istvan Ozsi, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Imre Dunai, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Trade, and Deputy Minister Peter Szonyi, leader of the International Economic Cooperation Bureau.

During the visit, the prime ministers are to discuss questions related to the rapid restructuring process under way in the two countries, the results of the socioeconomic reforms taken so far and plans for the future. The development of bilateral relations will also be reviewed.

The relationship between Hungary and Yugoslavia is characterized not only by good-neighbourly links but also by interdependence, representative of the Press Office of the Council of Ministers told journalists on Wednesday morning. He said the bilateral ties are settled on the whole, talks are held regularly in a good atmosphere and the two countries' leaders trust each other.

The national minorities play a particularly important part in Hungarian-Yugoslav cooperation. The existence of Hungary's Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian minorities and Yugoslavia's Hungarian population strengthens and augments the inter-state relations. In the interest of expanding consular relations, the Belgrade talks are expected to cover the possibility of opening a Hungarian Consulate in Zagreb and a Yugoslav Consulate in Pecs.

Bilateral business ties are also stable. Reciprocal goods deliveries under long-term agreements account for about 40 per cent of the overall trade turnover, following a period of stagnation in the early 1980s, goods traffic increased by 5 per cent in 1988 and this year a further 20-per-cent growth is expected as a result of Hungarian measures to encourage exports and the easing of import restrictions by Yugoslavia.

Further Reportage on Pozsgay Visit to Canada**Speech at Banquet***LD3110230989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] The main subject of the Canadian talks of Minister of State Imre Pozsgay were the Eastern European economic and political changes.

According to the minister of state, without the support of the West, the Hungarian reform could remain an isolated experiment. The minister of state delivered a speech at the banquet given in his honor on the completion of his program in Toronto.

The finance minister of the Canadian Government, Michael Wilson, has confirmed in his answer that Hungarian investments by Canadian firms will be encouraged.

Meets Montreal Hungarians

LD011114689 Budapest MTI in English
1027 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Ottawa, November 1 (MTI)—On Wednesday, the last day of his Canadian itinerary, State Minister Imre Pozsgay is to confer with leading politicians. In Ottawa he will call on Governor-General Jeanne Sauve, who represents Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain and Canada, and meet Foreign Minister Joe Clark and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

The state minister bid farewell to the Canadian Hungarian community in Montreal on Tuesday. About 600 people gathered in the local Catholic diocese to meet the guest from the parent country. Their questions reflected unanimous support for the Hungarian changes and deep concern over the fate of Romania's Hungarian population.

Mr Pozsgay confirmed that the government does not regard the affair of Transylvanian Hungarians a Hungarian-Romanian issue because the violation of human rights should not be the internal affair of any country, but it concerns Europe and the whole world.

Talks With Canada's Mulroney

LD0111224389 Budapest MTI in English
2040 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Ottawa, November 1 (MTI)—Minister of State Imre Pozsgay held talks with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and other high-ranking politicians on Wednesday in Ottawa, the final stop-off on his Canadian visit.

After the meeting, Mr Pozsgay said to Hungarian journalists in his entourage that his talks with Mr Mulroney had taken place in an exceptionally cordial atmosphere, and the Canadian prime minister had spoken in appreciation of the changes in Hungary.

Mr Pozsgay passed on Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth's regards, and confirmed Mr Mulroney's invitation to Hungary. The Canadian prime minister expressed his pleasure at the prospect of the visit, which will probably take place next spring.

Besides potential forms of direct support to Hungary, Mr Pozsgay called for easing Cocom [Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade Policy] restrictions, which would be vital for the Hungarian adoption of modern technology.

Mr Pozsgay also held talks with Joe Clark, minister of foreign affairs, mainly on the potential development of bilateral relations.

Imre Pozsgay is to leave for Washington at Thursday dawn Hungarian time, and will be meeting U.S. President George Bush and high-ranking congressional deputies.

Horn Holds Talks With Icelandic Counterpart

LD0111213189 Budapest MTI in English
1932 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, held talks on Wednesday with Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson, Icelandic minister of foreign affairs, currently in Hungary on an official visit.

The ministers surveyed relations between the two countries, and agreed there were further possibilities for expanding cooperation in every walk of life. They reached an agreement that seemed reasonable to reinforce relations between the legislative bodies of the two countries and encourage consultation between the two foreign ministries. Through expanding cooperation, Iceland could contribute to the stabilization of the Hungarian economy and the implementation of the reconstruction scheme. The two ministers agreed that the industrial and techno-scientific cooperation already begun in the field of geothermic energy utilization should be expanded.

Mr Hannibalsson pledged his government's help to take genuine steps to encourage the Hungarian investment of Icelandic companies and their readiness to set up joint ventures. To this effect, they are going to examine the possibility of establishing a state investment fund and are supporting the Hungarian plan that the northern investment bank and the environmental protection fund of the northern council should extend its activity to Hungary. Mr Hannibalsson gave a positive reaction to the Hungarian proposal that a way should be found to cancel the compulsory visa system between the two countries.

Mr Horn asked his Icelandic counterpart—Iceland is the current president of EFTA—to support Hungary's approach to the European Free Trade Association and its efforts to affiliate with it. Mr Hannibalsson briefed his Hungarian counterpart on the fact that the Hungarian initiative was included on the agenda of the forthcoming December session of the Council of Ministers of EFTA. He gave detailed information on negotiations under way to make relations between EFTA and the European Economic Community stronger.

The highest-ranking Icelandic diplomat then invited Gyula Horn on an official visit to Iceland.

The Icelandic foreign minister was received by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth and met Interim President Matyas Szuros.

HSP's Nyers Leaves for Copenhagen Visit

LD0111220289 Budapest MTI in English
1951 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Rezső Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, left for Copenhagen on Wednesday at the invitation of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark.

He is accompanied by Csaba Vass, member of the HSP's national presidium, and is to meet the president of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark on Thursday, along with Gerd Petersen, president of the Socialist People's Party. He will be received by Prime Minister Poul Schluter, who is also president of the Danish Conservative People's Party.

Before leaving for Denmark, Rezso Nyers told journalists that under a party presidium decision, he had signed an application to join the Socialist International on Wednesday, and this would be forwarded without delay to the London office of the international organization, as well as to its president, Willy Brandt.

'We hold good international relations in high esteem. I expect the HSP will be soon able to become a member of the Socialist International,' Mr Nyers said. 'The present working visit is also aimed at coordinating our home policy strategy and the role undertaken in European politics with the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, as well as at making clear our relation to the European left wing. I hope there will be an opportunity to hold an exchange of views on the special situation in Eastern Europe. In the course of the working visit, I will also be meeting members of the Danish Socialist People's Party, which indicates our good relations with both socialist parties.'

During the talks, questions about the European economy are also likely to be raised.

Belgian Socialist Delegation Ends Visit, Departs

*LD0111212289 Budapest MTI in English
1535 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—The delegation of the Socialist Party of Belgium which has been here in Hungary under the leadership of President Guy Spitaels, left Budapest on Wednesday.

M. Spitaels, who is also vice-president of the Socialist International and president of the Union of Socialist Parties of the European Communities, held talks with his host, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, on Wednesday.

The two politicians exchanged views on the possibilities of expanding inter-party cooperation and other issues. M. Spitaels also met Jeno Kovacs, member of the HSP Presidium.

Other Hungarian political figures the Belgian politician met were Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic of Hungary, Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, and Gyula Horn, foreign minister.

The Belgian delegation also met the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and representatives of other political parties.

European Parliament's Christian Democrats Visit

Horn Receives Delegation

*LD3110224589 Budapest MTI in English
2004 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] Budapest, October 31 (MTI)—On Tuesday, Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn received a delegation from the Christian Democratic faction of the European Parliament, led by President Egon A Klepsch.

Mr Horn stressed that Hungarian foreign policy continued to focus on establishing and developing relations based on contracts with the West European integration.

Herr Klepsch spoke of his faction's potential proposal to the European Parliament to raise the value of aid earmarked for Hungary in the framework of the European Economic Community.

Herr Klepsch affirmed that Mr Gyula Horn had been put up as a candidate for the Sakharov prize for the crucial role he has played in bringing about detente in Europe.

Szuros Meets Delegation

*LD0111135389 Budapest MTI in English
1232 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—On Wednesday, Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic of Hungary, met the delegation of the Christian-Democratic group of the European Parliament, headed by President Egon A. Klepsch. The delegation includes Otto von Habsburg, president of the EP's Hungarian section. The meeting was attended by Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum.

The sides emphasized that it would be desirable for Hungary to become full member of the Council of Europe as soon as possible. For the time being, six Hungarian MPs are taking part in the work of the Council of Europe as permanent invitees. Otto von Habsburg said that Hungary had a good chance to become a full member of the Council of Europe.

MTI Reports on Visit

*LD0111213689 Budapest MTI in English
1944 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Concluding a three-day official visit to Hungary, the delegation from the Christian Democratic faction of the European Parliament held a press conference in Budapest on Wednesday on the results of their negotiations.

Gyorgy von Osvath, spokesman for the CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union] Action Committee of the European Community, said they had first of all intended to contact the political parties that embraced Christian Democratic principles. They have held negotiations with representatives of the

Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Small-holders' Party, and the Christian Democratic People's Party, as they feel that these are the parties that best represent Christian Democratic ideology in Hungary.

Therefore, they are going to propose at the forthcoming congress of the European Christian Democratic Union that these organizations be granted admission to the union. Speaking on potential forms of genuine cooperation, Mr Von Osvath said that they primarily wished to give political and ideological support to Hungarian sister organizations. Thus, they are ready to give them access to their knowledge and experience in the field of democratic political culture. Depending on related Hungarian legal provisions, they do not exclude the possibility of financial support, either.

The spokesman also said that members of the delegation had met acting president of the Republic, Matyas Szuros, and Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs.

Szuros Receives Council of Europe Delegation

LD0111222889 Budapest MTI in English
2004 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Anders Bjorck, president of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, and members of his delegation have been received by Acting President of the Republic of Hungary, Matyas Szuros.

During the meeting, Mr Bjorck said that thanks to the positive changes effected in Hungary, the country had been granted the status of permanent observer in the Council of Europe. He stressed that in the accelerated process of approach between Eastern and Western Europe, it mainly depended on Hungary when it could become a member of the Council of Europe with full rights.

Mr Szuros pointed out that Hungary wished to reach the EEC through EFTA. He said that amid its present transformation, Hungary did not want to be left to its own devices, which happened in 1956. The country is aware that it should tackle the tasks ahead on its own, and wishes to keep steadily on the course of democratization.

This, however, requires the support of democratic countries, particularly for the purpose of establishing a market-based economy.

Mr Szuros voiced his opinion that it was also in the interest of Europe that the Hungarian experiment is a success and that Hungary can once again be in the fold of Europe.

Free Trade Agreement Proposed With Austria

LD3110151789 Budapest MTI in English
1438 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 31, 1989 (MTI-ECONews)—The Hungarian deputy premier has spoken of the urgent need for Hungarian and Austrian

experts to sit down and discuss details of a free trade agreement between the two countries.

Mr Peter Medgyessy put the idea to the Austrian Vice-Chancellor Josef Riegler during his day-long visit to Budapest.

Mr Riegler's rather diplomatic reply was that the Austrian Government is ready to cooperate with Hungary in creating favourable conditions for Austro-Hungarian inter-company cooperation and will, in this spirit, also study the Hungarian proposal concerning a free trade agreement and Hungary's membership of EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. Mr Riegler added that Austria is to lower customs duties on Hungarian imports from January, 1, 1990.

Besides preparing a free trade agreement, Hungary has also suggested that the two countries discuss how Austria could facilitate access of Hungarian agricultural products to its markets and expand cooperation in tourism. Mr Medgyessy suggested that the two countries conclude an agreement on Hungarians working in Austria similar to the one Hungary has with West Germany.

The Hungarian deputy premier also moved for closer cooperation between the Austrian and Hungarian aluminium industries, as well as closer links between the national airlines of the two countries, with a view to eventually forming a joint venture.

In the first eight months of 1989 Hungary exported to Austria goods worth 4.988 billion schillings and imported 4.412 billion schillings' worth of Austrian products. This represents an increase in exports of 29.2 per cent and in imports of 36.4 per cent over last year. In 1988 Hungarian exports amounted to 6.368 billion schillings and imports to 6.825 billion.

Since July 1, 1988, Austria has granted 50 per cent customs reductions on Hungarian industrial imports, while light industrial products enjoy 35 per cent concessions.

Pozsgay Confirmed as HSP Presidential Candidate

LD0111220989 Budapest MTI in English
2032 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—The organization of the party ranks is to be accelerated over the next few days. The data published recently which put HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] membership at between 15,000 and 20,000 are already out of date. In terms of provable numbers, the HSP is currently the largest political party, said Andras Toth, head of the HSP National Office, briefing MTI on the session of the National Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party held on Wednesday on the situation of the organization of the party.

He said that a committee had been set up to improve the conditions of recruiting. The committee members are Jeno Kovacs, Bela Katona and Pal Vastagh, assisted by representatives of the platforms and sections.

Until the emergence of the HSP National Board, a temporary system of delegation will be worked out in order to involve local forces in the activity of the Presidium. There will be five regional conferences held in the course of November, and these will make the party's agrarian outlines public.

The HSP Presidium calls on the membership to make it possible at the November 26 referendum for the people to elect the president of the republic. The Presidium confirmed that the HSP's single candidate for the post of president is Imre Pozsgay.

The HSP has also received an invitation to the congress of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary to take place over the weekend. The party will be represented by Csaba Hamori and Bela Katona.

National Assembly Votes on Troop Withdrawals

LD0111172989 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0600 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Excerpts] We sum up the work of yesterday's Hungarian National Assembly session. [passage omitted]

The deputies adopted a proposal by Zoltan Kiraly, according to which all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the territory of the European states by 1995, and that the Hungarian Government should also promote this.

Nyers Says Grosz Statement on MSZMP Confusing

LD0111205289 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1900 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] has asked to be admitted into the Socialist Internationale. Prior to leaving for Copenhagen, Rezso Nyers spoke at Ferihegy airport to Newsreel [name of program] about this and about other stands of the party leadership. He also spoke about Karoly Grosz' statement which was made yesterday, to the effect that he felt it was necessary to convene another Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress, and moreover he would accept a leading position in this party.

[Begin recording] [Nyers] The statement by Karoly Grosz confused me. I believe that numerous other representatives of public opinion, felt the same way, because there was a contradiction in his statement. He acknowledged the legitimacy of the MSZMP congress and the HSP, which developed out of the MSZMP. After that, I see there to be a contradiction in his statement to the effect that the MSZMP continues to exist. I cannot oppose the formation of the MSZMP as a new party.

[Unidentified reporter] The most varying estimates are circulating about the number of HSP members. One hears of 7,000, 15,000, even 20,000.

[Nyers] In terms of size, I believe that it is larger, approximately double that. [as heard]

[Reporter] What weight does the HSP have now?

[Nyers] The HSP has considerable weight in Parliament; it is the largest party in Parliament. Yet, at the present moment, it is a party which is still preparing itself.

[Reporter] There are two parties now in Hungary which profess to have socialist, social democratic values. How do you, as leader of one of the parties, view the other party—the Social Democratic Party? And how is this dualism viewed by the leaders of the Socialist Internationale, with whom you have held, and will hold, talks soon?

[Nyers] In my opinion, the Social Democratic Party has a purpose in Hungary. At present, however, this party is undeveloped with regard to its program, its theory, its political strategy, and its tactics. In numerous cases, the Socialist Internationale has had two member parties from one country.

[Reporter] Thus, it is conceivable that there soon will be two Hungarian members of it?

[Nyers] [Word indistinct] is also conceivable. We, the Presidium of our party, have decided to submit our request for admission. I have signed it this very day; we have sent it to the London office of Internationale. And I have sent it to Willy Brandt. [end recording]

Nemeth Meets With Opposition Party Leaders

LD0111235189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth, held talks with leaders of several opposition organizations, on the economic and political situation of our homeland, as well as on relations between the government and the opposition parties. The representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the Hungarian Peasant Association, and the premier, agreed at the bilateral talks that a peaceful transition is a joint interest, and the dissolution of differences is only possible through negotiations.

Opposition Parties Agree on Fund Distribution

LD021110189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0700 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] Hungarian opposition parties will get a share of the 100 million forints set aside for their support by the government in proportion to the declared number of their membership. Representatives of the opposition parties managed to reach this agreement after a lengthy debate. They also decided that every new party will be eligible for the basic provision of 1 million forints if they have registered themselves as an association.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Outlook for Country

TA3010141889 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR
in Hebrew 30 Oct 89 p 12

["Exclusive" interview with Imre Pozsgay, "Hungarian presidential candidate," by Yehuda Lahav in Budapest; date not given: "The Economic Crisis Will End and We Will Be Incorporated Into Europe"]

[Text] [Lahav] Six years ago, could you have predicted the trend in Hungary? Could you have imagined that in 6 years Hungary would be what it is today?

[Pozsgay] I could only have imagined one thing: the desired direction of developments. I could not have thought that in such a relatively short time we would have achieved the elimination of what is termed a "party state." Of course, one must point out that this was not only the outcome of internal Hungarian developments. The world around us changed as well, and Gorbachev's initiative of perestroika has altered the backdrop against which we are operating, making it possible for us to make speedier progress.

[Lahav] Would you risk a prediction on what Hungary, central Europe, and all of Europe will be like in another 6 years?

[Pozsgay] With all the necessary caution, I would venture to predict that in 6 years Hungary will have resolved its economic crisis and enjoy an efficient market economy. It will be a state where the law is applied and respected, whose parliament reflects the results of multiparty elections. Hence, the government will enjoy the public's trust and popular support. This will ease the handling of economic and social problems as well. All this forms the basis for my hope that Hungary will be thoroughly incorporated into Europe—especially if other central European countries undergo parallel processes.

[Lahav] Czechoslovak playwright Vaclav Havel (one of the leaders of the democratic movement in his country) has appealed to you and to Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, seeking your help in securing the release of several political prisoners in his homeland. Have you replied to his letter yet, and would you enlighten us about the content of your response?

[Pozsgay] I have already written my response. The letter is in my attache case. But I will publish it first in the Hungarian media. I can only tell you that the letter is an honest answer and a sincere appeal. As I send my response to Havel, I will simultaneously write to Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak. As for my relations with Vaclav Havel, I feel a great sense of spiritual affinity with him, both on the matter for which he approached me and on many other issues. I feel a sense of kinship and solidarity with him.

[Lahav] Rezso Nyers, chairman of your party, has declared that there is room in the new Hungarian Socialist Party for social democrats, socialists, and a certain brand of reform-minded communists. Supposing Alexander Dubcek's

name were Sandor Kistolgyi (the translation of Dubcek's name into Hungarian, meaning "little oak tree"), could he also be a member of your party?

[Pozsgay] I think so. My answer also means that I believe the Hungarian Socialist Party should constitute a kind of melting pot for anyone who is a European-style Hungarian leftist. Together with the sharp break with Stalinist thinking, the party should be open to all holders of socialist beliefs and all those who seek reform, regardless of the titles they bear.

[Lahav] What is now taking place in Hungary can be defined as "the explosion of free expression." In such conditions there are always negative phenomena, too. By that I mean, first and foremost, anti-Semitism. Do you think there is a real danger of an outbreak of anti-Semitism?

[Pozsgay] When the economic situation worsens and poverty becomes more widespread, there will always be people who show a proclivity toward bias. I think that today's Hungary is barren soil for such views. Consequently, people who hold anti-Semitic views have virtually no influence at all. They do not stand a chance, although we must do everything to make sure that they do not have a chance of growing stronger in the future either. It should be clarified in no uncertain terms that anti-Semitism is a phenomenon on which there is no room for compromise and which is inexcusable. The proliferation of anti-Semitism and racism is not a human right. It is a criminal act against which steps should be taken with all severity. I believe—furthermore, I am convinced—that in Hungarian society, on this issue there is not only a general understanding, but also general support.

Yet there are two sides to everything. In the past 40 years Jewish life in Hungary, too, has been rather arid, as the Jews were unable to express themselves as they wished even though Hungary has the largest Jewish community in central Europe. With the expansion of openness and freedom of expression, the Jews, too, want and can work out their own ways of expressing themselves. Naturally, this is their affair and right. At the same time, this aspiration may generate disputes and arguments. Here we will need a great deal of wisdom and decency. It is necessary to distinguish faithfully between a substantive discussion of a certain matter and the triggering of anti-Semitic sentiments. I very much hope that in this respect the humanist, sensible approach will have the upper hand.

[Lahav] What can you say about the view, as expressed in a Hungarian periodical, that the phrase "a Hungarian Jew" is contradictory: namely that the Jews cannot be true Hungarians and that consequently they cannot contribute anything to Hungarian culture?

[Pozsgay] The culture of Krakow, Prague, Vienna, and Budapest cannot be described at all without the Jews' contribution. Without it, those cultures would have been completely different. The Jews contributed to those

cultures for centuries, particularly since the middle of the 19th century. Clearly, I regard the Jews' contribution as something very positive, which enriched general culture. Ignoring that contribution—let alone negating it—is tantamount to cultural suicide.

[Lahav] When diplomatic relations were resumed, some people in Hungary said that severing them 22 years ago was a mistake. Do you think the error was the actual severance of ties, or was the mistake the general attitude toward the Middle East conflict?

[Pozsgay] The decision to sever relations was not a sovereign Hungarian decision, and could be regarded as a mistake on this basis alone. On the other hand, the resumption of ties was made on the basis of an independent Hungarian resolution. As for regional problems, Hungary supports any action that can promote peace and cooperation. The history of the past 20 years has proved that any policy that seeks to reach a settlement in the region without Israel or against its view is nothing but narrow-minded. I would like to refute assertions made in Arab countries that our decision to reestablish relations with Israel was an anti-Arab move. It was a friendly move toward Israel, but it was not aimed against the Arab countries. From our viewpoint, the only honest and decent fabric of relations possible with the nations in the region will have to include Israel as well. It is our fair and friendly attitude toward the Arab nations that obligates us to say as much.

[Lahav] Hungary now maintains friendly relations with all the sides involved in the conflict in our region. Does it plan to conduct a more active Middle East policy?

[Pozsgay] Hungary wants to participate in the political processes in the region to the extent possible. We are a small country; we cannot be as influential as a superpower. Yet thanks to our fair and unbiased approach, we can win the trust of all the parties to the conflict. If approached with a request to show initiative to promote understanding and cooperation, we will listen attentively and respond favorably.

[Lahav] Now, after the resumption of ties, in what areas do you foresee good chances for cooperation?

[Pozsgay] This may surprise you, but the most natural answer, to my mind, is that the focus of relations should be in human ties, and not only thanks to the fact—important in itself—that so many of Israel's citizens hail from Hungary. We want these ties to serve both countries. I cannot forget that in the past their motherland treated them as foster children. Yet I believe that they, too, realize that it was not an original Hungarian act but rather the result of the horrid international circumstances that prevailed at the time. So I see human ties,

contacts between people, the flow and exchange of ideas, as the key to the development of ties. Nonetheless, the international activity we mentioned earlier should not be neglected either, and economic cooperation envelops a great potential. I believe its scope is far more limited than should be for two countries on the road to further rapprochement.

[In the same edition, 'AL HAMISHMAR carries a brief page 1 report on the interview with Pozsgay, adding that he "expressed readiness to visit Israel, if invited, as the president of his country." Pozsgay says: "I would be happy to be the first East European president to visit your country."]

Police Chief Reports Rising Crime Rate

LD0111180489 Budapest MTI in English
0830 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 1 (MTI)—Andras Turos, deputy minister of the interior and chief commissioner of the National Police, has given an interview to MTI on the crime situation, amnesty and the reexamination of gun licences. He said that during the first nine months of the year 152,000 crimes were disclosed, 27,000 more than in the corresponding period of last year. The number of crimes against property rose to the greatest extent, by 25,000 to 107,000.

The deputy minister pointed out this was the first time for the number of crimes to increase in all counties and the capital simultaneously. A considerable growth of 31-33 per cent was recorded in Gyor-Sopron, Vas, Csongrad, Fejer and Somogy counties, and between 10 and 12 per cent in Bakes, Veszprem, Szolnok, Komarom and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplen counties. The number of crimes disclosed in the capital approached 45,000, a rise of 24 per cent on the same time last year. Andras Turos said the 35-per-cent detection ratio was unacceptably low, while the actor remained unknown in 68,000 cases. He warned that the crime situation may easily become dramatic in Hungary unless counter-measures are taken. The number of crimes this year is expected to surpass 200,000.

With regard to the limited amnesty law, the chief police commissioner said that the decree does not apply to dangerous criminals.

Answering a question on the reexamination of gun licences, Andras Turos said that about 20,000 people possess weapons for self-defence, 11,000 of them members of the Armed Forces. To date, an Interior Ministry decree provided for the circle of people licensed to carry a weapon, including full-time leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) in positions higher than factory secretary, as well as leaders of the Communist Youth Union (KISZ).

Relations With ROK Established, Envoys Received

AFP Reports New Relations

AU0111073889 Paris AFP in English
0111 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Seoul, Nov 1 (AFP)—Poland and South Korea established ambassadorial-level diplomatic relations here Wednesday.

South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung and Warsaw's Under Secretary of State Jan Majewski signed a protocol establishing ties as of Wednesday.

Poland thus becomes the second Eastern European country after Hungary to set up full links with South Korea. Diplomats here say Yugoslavia will soon also establish diplomatic relations with South Korea.

Mr Choe also signed a trade agreement with Polish Foreign Economic Relations Deputy Minister Janusz Kaczurba and an investment guarantee agreement with Polish Deputy Finance Minister Janusz Sawicki.

The South Korean Government said both countries were confident that the establishment of relations would not only contribute greatly to bilateral ties, but also to the reduction of tension on the divided Korean peninsula.

North Korea is expected to react negatively to the establishment of relations between an Eastern Bloc country and the capitalist South.

Pyeongyang branded Hungary a traitor to socialist solidarity and recalled its ambassador to Budapest when the Hungarian Government established relations with South Korea in February.

South Korea now has diplomatic relations with 133 countries.

The new non-communist-led government in Warsaw has made it clear that its priorities are more economic than ideological. Poland opened a trade office here in May and two-way trade this year has grown to about 50 million dollars.

A South Korean Government statement said diplomatic relations between Seoul and Warsaw "were expected not only to advance bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, cultural and other fields, but also to contribute to the ongoing process of democratization and economic restructuring in Poland."

The establishment of relations "is also expected to have a favorable effect on efforts to establish similar relations with other socialist countries which still do not have formal relations with this country," said the statement.

Delegation Received in Seoul

LD0111183889 Warsaw PAP in English
1741 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Seoul, Nov. 1—Polish Vice-Ministers for Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski, for Foreign Economic Cooperation Janusz Kaczurba and for Finance Janusz Sawicki stayed in the Republic of Korea today.

The Polish delegation was received by President of the Republic No Tae-u and Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun and by Minister of Foreign Affairs Choe Ho-chung, Minister of Finance Yi Kyu-song, Minister of Trade and Industry Han Sung-su. Members of the delegations also held talks with representatives of economic and financial circles.

The Polish delegation briefed their interlocutors on changes taking place in Poland, favouring the development of economic relations with abroad and spoke of activities aimed to expand economic, financial and investment cooperation between the two countries.

Jan Majewski and Minister of Foreign Affairs Choe Ho-chung signed a protocol on the establishing of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Republic of Korea.

Vice-Ministers Janusz Kaczurba and Janusz Sawicki signed a trade agreement, agreement on the promotion and mutual protection of investments and a protocol of arrangements on economic and financial cooperation.

Comments on Warsaw Pact Meeting Reported

Rakowski on Talks

AU3110103589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 28-29 Oct 89 p 1

[Statement by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, on his meeting with Warsaw Pact foreign ministers to TRYBUNA LUDU staffer Michal Przeczek in Warsaw on 27 October: "An Important Guarantee of the International Order"]

[Text] Following the meeting, which lasted longer than anticipated, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, shared his impressions with a TRYBUNA LUDU journalist.

[Rakowski] I think that it was a very necessary meeting. It was necessary for me personally and for the entire leadership of the party. Our visitors also considered it useful. I had an opportunity to set out our viewpoint on the future of the socialist community. I stressed that, irrespective of current differences and conflicts, maintaining the community and basing it on rational principles is one of the key guarantees of the order and of political stability in Europe and the rest of the world. This viewpoint was accepted by the ministers.

We described the current political and economic situation in Poland and spoke about the role of the PZPR in surmounting present difficulties and in forming a new political order.

[Przeczek] Ministers who are responsible for cooperation with foreign countries were present at this year's meeting of the foreign ministers' committee. This is undoubtedly something new. Does this mean that our community is attaching growing importance to the question of common economic interests?

[Rakowski] Economic cooperation requires new stimuli and needs to be viewed in a new way. Today everyone is dissatisfied with the state of affairs in CEMA. It is widely believed that the present structures should be fundamentally reorganized. However, I do not think that this will happen soon. At the moment the socialist countries are pleased about having greater freedom, and strengthening integration ties is something that will only be thought about at some later date.

'Profound Reassessments' Viewed

AU3110100889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 28-29 Oct 89 p 7

[Commentary by Waldemar Kedaj: "The Path of Stability"]

[Text] While bringing to light differences and points about which there is disagreement, the great changes that are taking place in our immediate setting and the broader, international one, are also revealing our common interests and diminishing the areas of threat and mistrust to the benefit of those domains in which there is agreement. This fact cannot fail to affect the international alliances and organizations whose formation and existence was prompted by those threats. The 2-day meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers' Committee that ended in Warsaw on Friday [27 October] indicated that the alliance of socialist states not only wishes to adapt to the new, constructive, detente-oriented trends toward disarmament and democratization, but also wants to make an active contribution to them.

This is an important conclusion to be drawn from the Warsaw session. It has been standard practice for foreign ministers of the allied states to meet for years. However, these meetings have lately begun to depart from routine in many respects. This latest meeting was the first such forum to be held in our country since the formation of the present governing coalition. The meeting took place in an atmosphere that was marked by profound reassessments in our part of the continent and in the international scene in general, a great ferment of activity in global East-West dialogue and in Soviet-American relations in particular, and improved prospects for the conclusion of disarmament agreements.

During the course of a frank, open, and free exchange of views—listened to by the exceptionally large number of

journalists from both East and West that was present at Friday's [27 October] news conference in the INTER-PRESS Center—representatives of the seven Warsaw Pact states established a basic common position on matters as important as advancing disarmament and the harmonious development of all areas of the Helsinki process. They expressed the belief—as the communique reads—that conditions are ripening in Europe for the attainment of a radical breakthrough in relations between the states on our continent and the gradual overcoming of divisions that exist in Europe. However, at the same time, they pointed out that all attempts aimed at calling postwar borders into question and bringing about the resumption of discussion on this subject are harmful to the process of building confidence and security in Europe.

The Warsaw forum, which elaborated on themes that had already been raised at the July meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest, expressed support for proceeding further with the process of transforming the function of the alliance from one that is primarily military to one that is primarily political. Acceptance of the growing primacy of the political aspect went hand in hand with an emphasis on the need to develop relations between the Warsaw Pact states on the basis of full equality, independence, the right to choose one's own path of development, and with a desire for actions that will further democratize transformations, a process of democratization that will be appropriate to the changes that are taking place in our part of the continent and the positive trends in East-West relations.

Transformations of this kind accord with the profoundest aspirations of a broad range of social forces in Poland. During the Warsaw meeting the highest representatives of our state expressed their firm resolve to respect all the alliance obligations stemming from membership of the Warsaw Pact. It was stressed that alliances concern a state's external security and not its internal order and political solutions. On Poland's initiative, government representatives responsible for economic cooperation with foreign countries were invited to the meeting for the first time. This is also a telling indication of the direction that the organization wants to take and the means that it wants to employ in responding to the challenges of the present.

Something that can be deemed a special sign of the times is the fact that, by adopting a pragmatic approach that is free from ideological burdens, military-political alliances—an emphasis on the political would be appropriate—are becoming a factor that promotes dialogue, disarmament, and detente. Of course, their complete and simultaneous dissolution would be the most ideal outcome. However, until all the conditions for this arise, they can perform a coordinating and, as is also being stressed within NATO nowadays, a stabilizing role. Jumping certain stages will not aid more rapid progress along the path leading to the common European home, but what will aid this is taking a deeper look at one's

actual situation to begin with and identifying the common, unifying elements present in it. It would appear that the Warsaw meeting has made a valuable contribution to an analysis of this kind.

Nowak Interviewed

PM3110102089 London ITV Television Network
in English 1800 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Interview with Polish Foreign Ministry Policy Planning Department Director Jerzy Nowak in Warsaw by channel 4 presenter Sheena McDonald in London, monitored in progress in the framework of "The World This Week" program—live]

[Text] [McDonald] Joining us live now from Warsaw is Jerzy Nowak, who was one of Poland's chief negotiators at the Warsaw Pact meeting this week. Jerzy Nowak, your delegation came to this meeting with a clear idea about the future of the Warsaw Pact: that it should shift from being a military alliance to a true political alliance of member nations. Now that's not what was stated in the communique. Are you disappointed?

[Nowak] I do not think I am disappointed. I feel that we are driving in this direction because you have there a clear statement that we can freely choose our own system; that we can freely choose the way we are reorganizing our social and political life, including constitutional principles. And then you have the statement which says that the military alliances should not interfere into the disputes between other countries. So I think we are going the same way. Why to put just one cliché of two, three words, when we can just a little bit develop certain ideas which mean much more?

[McDonald] Well, let me ask you about those two disputes between different countries, because that sounds like a very united view, but in fact we've seen different changes, different paces of change in the Eastern European countries and the Warsaw Pact members over the last few months—most notably, calls from President Ceausescu of Romania on Warsaw Pact members to actually invade Poland to stop the taking over of a noncommunist government. Now doesn't that indicate that there is more division amongst members than you are suggesting?

[Nowak] Well, I would not suggest that there are no divisions. On the contrary, I think that you are quite right saying that there are different parts, and I think for quite a long time we will be facing even more differences. But the document you probably have before you—or that has been published today—simply is a kind of a synthesis of everything which we were able to reach together, and although we departed probably from different points of view. But imagine: For the first time we had a Polish foreign minister—and only one first from 1955—who was noncommunist member and who addressed the others by "mister" or "gentlemen." So you see, this is the symbolic...

[McDonald interrupts] Mr Nowak, can I ask.... can you explain exactly why Poland's interests are presently and in the future—security interests—are best served by staying within the Warsaw Pact?

[Nowak] I think there are two reasons for that: One is internal, one is external. Internal one is that we have a profound—which could be even named as a historical—change, and we do need a kind of a protection also from the way the military alliances may act, because in the past they were understood sometimes as a kind of a military alliances to protect a specific system, whether being socialism or any other. This time....

[McDonald interrupts] Can I, can I suggest another reason which is interesting? It appears in page 2 of the communique, and the ministers noted that the danger of stepped-up neo-Nazism and revanchism in some West European states. Are you referring to the dangers of a reunified Germany?

[Nowak] I'm thinking much more... slightly different terms. I'm thinking about, first of all, the destabilization in Europe, because once you have changes in Eastern Europe very profound, it is inevitable you will have some destabilization.

[McDonald] But would a reunified Germany be a serious reason for staying within the Warsaw Pact at this moment?

[Nowak] I think that reunification of Germany is rather a distant future, but if there are steps of the two German states coming together, I think it could be done in a very peaceful way and not necessarily produce this destabilization. But in case there are efforts to swallow it or to lose the control over events in East Germany, that would be a dangerous situation also for Poland and for others. And also, in the same way, if some nationalist feelings in West Germany may rise up—and the recent elections on Sunday show that there are some things of this sort.

Expert on Reform, Warsaw Treaty

LD3110153189 Warsaw PAP in English
1359 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 31—The United Peasant Party's [UPP] organ *DZIENNIK LUDOWY* reports on an interview granted to Britain's BBC television by chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee and head of the UPP CC [Central Committee] Foreign Department Jan Czaja. To a question whether the Warsaw Treaty will not hinder democratic transformations in Poland, as it did in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, Czaja replied that Polish reform is most threatened by the economic situation. "We are under the pressure of time, social patience may wear out," the daily reported Czaja as saying.

Back to the Warsaw Treaty, Czaja pointed out that one should seek its democratization lest it become an instrument aimed against internal transformations in member states and that it should only be a strictly defensive pact.

Asked whether he regarded the changes in eastern Europe as an end of communism, Czaja said he did, but only of communism understood as the imposed Stalinist model.

Pact Talks, Shevardnadze's Remarks Discussed

AU3110101889 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 27 Oct p 2

[Marek Zdziech commentary: "Frank and Sincere Talks"]

[Text] The Warsaw visit and talks by USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze encountered a great deal of interest not only among experts in Polish politics. The Soviet statesman's remarks were listened to very carefully, regardless of the listener's political orientation, for there is an almost universal conviction in Poland that Soviet-Polish relations have been and still are important for our peoples and for stability and peace in Europe.

From what the Soviet minister told our press, radio, and television, we heard, not without satisfaction, that there are no differences between each country's basic objectives, which means that everything that is good in our relations should be preserved. We also concur that the good-neighborly cooperation in the economic sphere and in other spheres ought to be expanded and furnished with greater energy. In other words, it is important to us that mutual relations be open, and that there be a constant increase in scientific-technological cooperation, an uninhibited exchange of the latest technologies, and a joint concern for the environment.

As a military daily, we are obliged to note the statements about allied commitments made during the talks, the main ones being that we remain faithful to the basic accords that have been concluded between our states, and to all the principles on whose basis the Warsaw Pact was established.

In this context, it is also worth pointing out the part of Minister Shevardnadze's speech in which he says that a strong common European house can only be built on foundations based on the territorial and political reality in Europe, in other words the inviolable nature of the borders established as a result of the postwar legal settlements and confirmed in many subsequent agreements, including the Moscow accord between the USSR and FRG, FRG agreements with other East European countries, and the Helsinki Final Act.

Also important is the view that the military-political alliances that form a part of today's reality are not a permanent component of the future. Poland and the Soviet Union, it was said, are unchangingly in favor of mutually dissolving these groups. Our opinion on the reduction of Eastern and Western military potentials is similar. We speak of a minimum defense sufficiency, but also of the need to keep military activity open to view, as the basis of mutual trust.

However, as long as military blocs exist, there should be a gradual aim to transform them into political-military organizations, with the emphasis on civilian activity. In such a case, the Warsaw Pact could continue to act as a stabilizer and guarantor of the territorial-political reality, at the same time as which it could make a more tangible contribution to building a new Europe.

The Wednesday talks also contained no absence of difficult topics, which still cause ill feelings here and there. Minister Shevardnadze said once again that the Soviet side has no reason to keep secret any episodes in the history of our relations, where these episodes are known. However, it is necessary to adhere to the principle that, before a final conclusion can be drawn, detailed investigations into the smallest details are required. Authentic documents should be used, and nothing should be passed over; otherwise, instead of repairing the misfortune, we might create a new one. It is difficult to deny the correctness of such a presentation of the issue.

In this context, it is probably worth recalling, and not for the first time, that our common history also consists of many examples of nobleness, selflessness, courage, and even heroism. Our duty is not to tamper with this heritage. We can only become a well-organized, prosperous, and respected society if we live in peace and harmony with our neighbors today and tomorrow.

'Closest Possible Cooperation' With USSR Backed

LD2610204189 Warsaw PAP in English
1655 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow, Oct. 26—"I am a supporter of the closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union and I will stand against anyone who will try to loosen the ties linking us," PUWP CC 1st Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said in his interview for the daily of the Lithuanian Communist Party CC CZERWONY SZTANDAR (Red Banner) issued in Polish in Vilnius.

"From the point of view of national interests the relations between our states should remain in the focus of attention regardless of who is the premier and who is in power," he added.

"In my opinion, the prospects for the Polish-Soviet relations are favourable. If they are going to change, then probably only for the better. We are glad that Mazowiecki's government publicly declares that it is going to meet all the obligations and maintain the relations which have developed between Poland and the USSR," Rakowski stated.

USSR Official Sees Protests' 'Positive Edge'

LD2010140789 Warsaw PAP in English
1151 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 20—First secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw Aleksandr Oskin gave an interview to SZTANDAR MŁODYCH, the youth daily, in which

he reviewed the Polish-Soviet relations now, after the PUWP [Polish United Worker's Party] lost the elections and the Solidarnosc premier assumed office. Excerpts:

Did The Changes Bear Upon Relations?

"I believe not at all. Our leadership had earlier stated the changes in Poland were an internal affair of Poland and her people. Further, the Polish Government, presided over by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, stated they were going to abide by all of the to-date international agreements. On our part, we do not envisage any changes in this sphere. I assume such changes will not take place on the Polish part either."

On Anti-Soviet Demonstrations

"This is a broad-ranging problem. On the one hand, we have got a zoological anti-Sovietism, as it were, when the demonstrators chant 'the Soviets go home,' not grasping the problem, and throw stones or desecrate the graves of Soviet soldiers. I think that although such cases do happen in Poland, yet it is not them [the cases] to reflect the Poles' attitude towards the problem.

"At this point I fall in with Mr Michnik who has said there are no grounds in Poland now for developing an anti-Soviet demagoguery.

"Paradoxically, one can perceive a positive edge in the anti-Sovietism, too, namely one should try to understand what out of that which sounds critical of the Soviet Union serves the interests of the Soviet Union itself.

"So, when there is a student demonstration of a clearly anti-Soviet character in the front of the Soviet Embassy, I feel like telling them: What is the use of chanting all of these slogans? Come on in, let's sit down and talk, we will size up and elucidate these problems which do exist and revolt you."

On Katyn

"I think despite the complex nature of our common history none of the problems, be it even the Katyn Tragedy, should be nowadays the cause for sowing enmity and hatred. The hatred of one sides brings on an analogous reaction of the other side. I think that the pondering over and solidifying hostile relationships present a road leading up to an abyss.

"There has been no unequivocal statements on this topic from the Polish-Soviet commission of historians thus far. I am of the opinion that this is the commission's fault, particularly its Soviet part.

"This year like I did last year, I will take part in the official ceremonies to mark November [date indistinct] the day of the dead. Together with my family I will go to the Powazki [cemetery] and I think I will light up a candle on the symbolic Katyn grave."

On Soviet Troops' Pull-Out

"In step with the consultation of peace and confidence, changes in the political climate, it will be less and less necessary to keep the Soviet troops in Poland. Personally, I am in favour of the quickest possible withdrawal of our troops from Poland."

On Polish Debt

"Poland's debt to the Soviet Union amounts to [figure indistinct] billion dollars and some 6.5 billion rubles. This is a big debt, but understanding the difficult situation of Poland as we do, our government chose to postpone the dollar debt repayments for ten years."

Senate Speaker Meets Vice President Quayle

*LD0111212689 Warsaw PAP in English
1744 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Washington, Nov 1—Speaker of the Polish Senate Andrzej Stelmachowski, now in the United States, was received by U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle here on Tuesday.

The vice-president expressed considerable interest in transformations taking place in Poland and assured Stelmachowski that it was the intention of U.S. President George Bush and the entire U.S. Government to extend aid to Poland.

On the same day, Stelmachowski held talks with Adviser at the U.S. State Department Robert Zoellick on the current economic situation in Poland.

Krol, Michnik Comment on Rome Symposium

*LD2910231989 Warsaw PAP in English
2200 GMT 29 Oct 89*

[By PAP correspondent Bozydar Sosien]

[Text] Rome, Oct. 29—The gist and the difficulties of the restructuring and changes in Eastern and Central European countries and Western assistance are the topics of the round table debates here that ended an international symposium with the participation of politicians, political scientists, intellectuals, trade union activists and Italian, Polish, Hungarian and Soviet journalists. The symposium was organized by the L'ESPRESSO Italian weekly.

Sejm Deputy and PUWP CC secretary Marek Krol, Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis and editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA Deputy Adam Michnik took part in the round table discussion.

Here are selected excerpts of this interesting discussion that can be deemed also a contribution to East-West dialogue:

Krol: "If we managed and manage to build political democracy, changes in the economy, particularly those aimed to set up a free market, are impossible without

Western assistance. But reformatory countries need not so much assistance as economic cooperation. The fate of Polish reforms can delay or speed up the work of conservative forces in other countries of our part of Europe. In view of the development of the situation, a question whether West should help east is already a rhetorical question."

Michnik: "The hitherto system, working contrary to the laws of nature, kills human energy and we witness the death of civic society and one should not quarrel about words if this is the death of real socialism, communism or Marxism. 'Compromise' is an answer to a question of what underlies the change of this system that Poles try to provide. This means that all of us in Poland agreed that we had to build a system of democratic order and that we had to build it together, without resorting to violence. Thus, we started up a process of destroying the hitherto political scene.

"With domestic stability ensured, the changes now taking place were possible on the one hand thanks to the Solidarnosc moderate and pragmatic philosophy and on the other thanks to the fact that this part of communist nomenclature that decided to pursue reforms is an irreplaceable pillar of this compromise. In other words: both Walesa with a strong social base and General Jaruzelski with the Army and the security apparatus are the guarantors of this democratic compromise and democratic transformation.

"The fact that we can sit here in Rome with Secretary of the Communist Party CC Krol at one table and need not quarrel about anything that would be important is also an evidence of the change that was made in Poland and is further in the making. A similar conversation with Russian colleagues or an interview with Minister Shevardnadze, that appeared in GAZETA WYBORCZA, are the next evidence of changes. And still recently, this would not have dawned upon even the greatest visionaries in Poland. All this means that the hitherto system not only dies out but that there are grounds to hope that one can proceed from this totalitarian system to democracy without bloodshed and by way of compromises and agreements," Michnik said.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman's News Conference

AU3110105489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 27 Oct 89 p 2

[Text] Ambassador Stefan Staniszewski, Foreign Ministry press spokesman, held a news conference at the INTERPRESS Center on 26 October. He discussed the premier's international contacts and work in October, including the visits to Italy and the Vatican, plus the visits to Poland by the Swedish prime minister and USSR foreign minister.

Ambassador Staniszewski reminded everyone that Premier Mazowiecki is going to Moscow on 23 November.

One can observe a multiplicity and intensification of Polish-Soviet contacts at state and social level since the formation of a new government, said the Foreign Ministry spokesman. The USSR was and remains the chief guarantor of our national security, and our most important ally and trade partner. The convergence of the processes of change in both countries is contributing many new qualitative elements to mutual relations, without affecting the permanent strategic foundations thereof.

Poland's international contacts and the energy of these contacts confirm the openness of our foreign policy vis-a-vis the East and the West, which Premier Mazowiecki discussed in his Sejm speech. The task of this policy is to implement the reforms in our country and make sure that they have adequate foreign support. The main Western countries are becoming aware that the changes in Poland will not succeed without major support from outside. This awareness has resulted in a series of concrete plans and offers of aid, though there is still a discrepancy between the numerous political declarations on the one hand and the practical activity of financial circles in the creditor countries on the other.

One can say that the attitude of the West toward Poland is changing. Today it is better than it was in the middle of the year, when foreign aid was limited mainly to verbal declarations of support for our reforms. Right now we are receiving aid from the EEC and United States, and this aid is highly coordinated. Nevertheless, our needs are far greater. In order to combat inflation and stabilize the zloty, we need about \$1 billion.

Therefore we are counting on the fulfillment of the declarations that have been made, and on an acceptance of our desire to reschedule Poland's debts, write off old credits, and receive new ones. Most of all, we are counting on foreign capital in Poland, and bolder investment. In this sphere, the progress is still minimal.

Commenting on Eduard Shevardnadze's visit, the spokesman said that many issues of major importance to Poland, including economic issues, were discussed. The Soviet minister assured us that Soviet deliveries of raw materials, including crude oil, would be kept at their previous level. He also assured us that the Soviet side is interested in adopting new methods of commerce that make greater use of market principles.

Both sides are determined to resolve all "blank spots." It was decided to create mechanisms to accelerate this process.

During the talks with Minister Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski also raised the question of eliminating the obstacles to cross-border traffic. We also discussed the living conditions of the Polish minority in the USSR, though not for the first time. The Soviet side stressed that basically, it sees no obstacles to the solving of problems of Poles living in the USSR.

Replying to questions, S. Staniszewski said that the premier has been invited to Belgium and the United States, and has also been invited to Strasbourg by the European parliament. There will probably be a meeting between the Polish and Czechoslovak premiers soon. Minister Skubiszewski will visit Austria in the next few days, and then Norway. Next month we expect a visit by the French foreign minister, who is currently chairman of the EEC Council of Ministers, and later we expect a visit by the Danish foreign minister.

Referring to the forthcoming visit by Chancellor H. Kohl, the spokesman said that we expect a further normalization of mutual relations, the removal of barriers, and the resolving of troublesome issues and open questions. We also expect an intensification of economic and financial cooperation, including support by Bonn for the institutional reforms in Poland. The point is to settle. Among other things, the question of debts, write off the "Jumbo" credit of 1975, and renew the "Hermes" government guarantees. Further, we are counting on an acceleration of the process of social accord and the creation of prerequisites for a German-Polish rapprochement similar to the Franco-German one. We are also counting on a revitalization of political dialogue, in order to renew and coordinate joint activity. Poland is aiming for a fundamental breakthrough in mutual relations with the FRG. This will be expressed by the finalization of 10 interstate and interministerial agreements, and by the adoption of a joint declaration by the heads of both governments.

Jaruzelski Appoints New Ministers of State

LD0111203189 Warsaw PAP in English
1820 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 1—President of the Polish People's Republic Wojciech Jaruzelski appointed as of November 1, 1989 Jozef Koziol and Piotr Nowina-Konopka ministers of state.

Jozef Koziol, 50, graduate from the Warsaw Main School of Planning and Statistics. In 1982 appointed first deputy minister of agriculture and food economy, in 1983 deputy chairman of the Government Planning Committee, in 1985 vice-premier and chairman of the Food Economy Council. In the years 1988-89 minister for natural environment protection and natural resources.

Member of the United Peasant Party [UPP] since 1959. He fulfilled various functions in the UPP, from chairman of a UPP local organization to secretary and vice-chairman of the UPP CC. He was member of the Polish Youth Union, Peasant Youth Union and of the Polish Student's Association. Married, with one daughter and one son.

Piotr Nowina-Konopka, 40, graduate from the School of Economics in Sopot and of the Gdansk University. Since 1979 lecturer at the Institute of Economics of Foreign

Trade of the Gdansk University. Co-founder and secretary of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Gdansk from 1980 till the moment of the club's dissolution in 1984. Before December 13, 1981, expert in the centre of social and vocational work of the NSZZ Solidarnosc Gdansk in the field of worker's self-management.

In the years 1981-87 worked in the Gdansk bishop's charity commission for persecuted persons. Starting from November 1982, associate of chairman of NSZZ Solidarnosc Lech Walesa. Since May 1988 spokesman for the NSZZ Solidarnosc and from May 1989 also head of the press bureau. Member of the Civic Committee at the chairman of the NSZZ Solidarnosc. Married, with two daughters.

9-Month Economic Statistics Report Released

LD2010030589 Warsaw PAP in English
2317 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—The Main Statistical Office GUS released a statistical report on Poland's economic situation after 3 quarters of this year. Excerpts:

The production of the steel, chemical, paper, engineering, transport, food, and fodder industries during the reporting period was lower than in the analogous time of last year. Better results were achieved in the power, mineral, timber, electro-engineering, electronical, textile, clothing, and printing industry. Production decline in socialised enterprises was not balanced by quick, over 30 percent, increase in the production of the private sector.

Unfavourable situation continued in housing construction where fewer apartments were finished than a year before.

This year's grain and rape crops were higher than last year but the crops of potatoes, sugar beet, hay, vegetables, and fruit are expected lower.

There were efforts to restore the pig stocks in the recent time. The procurement of slaughter animals was lower than a year ago but free market meat sales went up.

Employment: Employment continued its decline that had begun in 5 main branches of the socialised economy in 1987 from 2.6 percent in January 1989 to 5.4 percent in September, this year.

Prices: The general level of retail prices was by 119.6 percent higher during the recent 9 months than a year ago, with food prices growing most. The average level of food prices was 3-4 times higher than that in the 4th quarter of the past year, while prices of other articles went up 2-3 times.

Incomes of the population continued to be higher than expenses which increased the monetary reserves of the population by 5.7 trillion zlotys. These reserves totalled 11.9 trillion zlotys by the end of September but at the

same time its buying force dropped by some 40 percent in relation to the end of the previous year.

Wages: The growth rate of wages was ever higher during this year. An average wage in the 5 main branches of the socialised economy was 88.9 thousand zlotys in the first quarter of this year, 113.2 thousand in the second quarter, and 208.2 thousand in the third quarter.

Foreign trade: The foreign trade balance with socialist countries in the end of last September was by 352 million rubles higher than a year earlier while the balance of trade with hard currency countries was by 476 million dollars lower.

This year saw a decline in turnover with CMEA countries and a parallel increase in trade with the European Community.

Polish exports in constant prices were by 1.8 percent lower during the three quarters of this year than last year. Exports to CMEA countries dropped by 3.2 percent and to hard currency states by 0.3 percent. At the same time Polish imports grew by 3 percent but imports from socialist countries dropped by 4.6 percent and from capitalist countries grew by 11.5 percent.

Daily Poll Notes Drop in Popular Confidence

LD2010181189 Warsaw PAP in English
1340 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 20—In its monthly poll, published by today's GAZETA WYBORCZA, the OBOP Centre for Public Opinion Research at the radio and TV committee stated that "A certain drop in confidence in all, except for the Catholic Church, institutions and socio-political organisations was recorded this October."

The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] suffered the biggest loss as it had confidence of 20 per cent of the polled last June, 17 per cent last September and as little as 11 per cent in October.

Also the remaining two parties of the former coalition, the Democratic Party and United Peasant Party lost much, because confidence is expressed by every third of those polled (34 and 33 per cent respectively), the fact that placing them ex equo with the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions which lost confidence of 6 per cent of those asked.

Yet, the same is also true of the "Solidarnosc" which in September enjoyed confidence of 72 per cent of respondents while in October - only 66 per cent.

Also recorded was a drop in confidence in the Senate, the new chamber of the Polish parliament. In September there was 75 per cent of those confident while in October—only 69 per cent. A smaller drop took place in regard to the Sejm which was trusted in September by 74 per cent of respondents and today—by 71 per cent.

The army recorded relatively the smallest loss as its credibility went down only by two points from (72 to 70 per cent).

68 per cent of respondents trust the government.

It turned out that there was a considerable growth of social optimism during the last month. There were as much as 44 per cent of those who thought that an improvement would follow in the coming three years, whereas the worsening of the situation was expected by as little as 23 per cent of those polled (in September 39 per cent respondents were positive and 28 per cent negative as to the future).

Army Daily on Interior Ministry Changes

AU3110093389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 26 Oct pp 1, 2

[Janusz B. Grochowski article: "The Interior Ministry Is Reorganizing Itself"]

[Text] Reforms inside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSW] were prepared a long time ago, but there has always been something to stop them from being implemented. These reforms were made possible, and even essential by the rapid changes in Poland, which are making Poland a country under the rule of law, a law that applies to everyone without exception.

These changes also mean that some of this ministry's activity has become superfluous and even anachronistic. For example, one cannot keep tabs on the opposition if this opposition now constitutes most of the government. Toward the end of August, 6 out of 40 MSW administrative bodies were closed down, including the department responsible for controlling the opposition (Department 3), the department responsible for church organizations (Department 4), the ones responsible for the protection of industry (Department 5) and agriculture (Department 6), and the Chief Inspectorate for the Protection of Industry and the Security Service's Investigation's Office. "Together with these bodies, the equivalent field units have also been abolished, and their materials will be destroyed," says Lieutenant Colonel Wojciech Garstka, MSW press spokesman. He assures us that the Security Service, "which cannot be separated from the militia for the time being, because this would require the creation of a separate and very costly infrastructure for it," will constitute only 7 per cent of the MSW's entire work force, in other words, it will have almost 7,500 officers. Apart from intelligence and counterintelligence ("foreign agencies are growing more interested in Poland; 80 cases of recruiting Polish citizens have been discovered over the past 6 months"), three departments are being established: a department of studies and analysis, a department for the protection of the economy, and a department for the protection of the constitutional order. Colonel Jerzy Karpacz, deputy chief of the Security Service, is convinced about the need for the last-named department. "Over 300 new organizations have appeared in Poland recently, with names

like the Intercity Anarchistic Organization, Youth Sadistic-Terrorist Party, or Youth Fascist Organization," he says. Therefore this department is necessary in order to protect the parliamentary system and human rights, and also to protect the country against terrorism.

At the same time, those services dealing with supervision and eavesdropping ("eavesdropping may be performed with court permission, and only in case of serious crime or scandal") will receive a change in profile, and the bulk of communications activity will be removed from the Security Service.

The forces under the control of the MSW are also being restructured. In the Border Defense Forces, four brigades, ten border battalions, and three port battalions are being disbanded, which will reduce the size of these forces by 6,000 men. The number of men in the MSW's Vistula Military Units will decrease by 1,100 men following the disbanding of a brigade, regiment, battalion, and helicopter squadron. Personnel cuts will also result in the formation of Citizens Militia [MO] preventive units in 22 voivodships. Instead of the 12,479 men they had previously, motorized MO units will have 5,177 full-time men, backed by 13,000 young people undergoing service in the MO in lieu of basic military service in the Army. The character of these units will also change. Only the premier, Government Presidium, and interior minister may decide to deploy them during demonstrations.

The political-educational service will also be abolished. "However, this does not mean an automatic departicipation of this ministry," says Colonel Karpacz. "The Sejm will decide on that when it passes the Political Parties Act." The permanence of the all these changes is meant to be guaranteed by the appointment of a political advisory committee under the aegis of the interior minister, to which representatives of the main groups in Poland would belong.

The changes taking place to the ministry should also increase citizens' feeling of security. As we know, the situation in this regard has not been very good lately. Although with a figure of 1,250 crimes for every 100,000 Poles, we are, fortunately, a long way away from the world record, or even the European record, the rate at which crime in Poland is growing is setting alarm bells ringing. Cases of breaking and entering and burglaries are particularly on the rise. "Each year, every 100th car has a likelihood of being broken into or stolen," says General of Brigade Zbigniew Nowicki, deputy chief of the MO. In his opinion, the work of the MO in this sphere is short of requirements. The MO divides cities into zones, which ought to be supervised non-stop in two shifts, or merely patrolled. However, the MO only has enough men to carry out 70 percent of the tasks in Zone I. This clarifies the question about the privileges or attraction of this profession. With a salary of Z238,500 for a district supervisor and Z183,000 for a private [annual figures], the result is that some militia stations are more than half-empty. The possibility of quickly

obtaining an apartment used to attract people to join the militia. But today, the ministry needs 5,000 apartments for its officers, and that is just in Warsaw. The social climate surrounding this profession is also significant, and that is probably the main obstacle to an effective combating of crime. As a result of this climate, there is talk of abolishing the Voluntary Citizens Militia Reserves [ORMO]. If that happens, 25,000 new militia posts will have to be created to fill the gap left vacant by these volunteers, resulting in costs amounting to Z120 billion.

"I will not even mention the harm that might befall the 300,000 ORMO members as a result, at a time when there is an urgent need to expand civic self-defense," says General Nowicki. Right now, self-defense is developing in fits and starts. Only 400 self-defense associations have emerged in Poland so far.

The ministry's staff difficulties do not mean that the qualifications for those wishing to join it or the professional criteria of those already serving in it will be lowered. Last year, 515 criminal proceedings were instigated against the ministry's officers (the chief offenses being causing an accident, beating up people, or accepting bribes). Some 751 persons were dismissed and 5,000 received other penalties.

The MSW spokesman claims that the extent of the changes in the ministry ("the biggest since 1956") is a guarantee of their permanence. "The militia cannot change at the same time as a government, like a flag waving in the wind." General Nowicki wants the Militia to be renamed "Police." "A double command system, local and central, is also possible. But that is no job for amateurs and would-be sheriffs."

New Wroclaw First Secretary Elected 27 Oct

LD3110083989 Wroclaw Domestic Service
in Polish 0600 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] A new first secretary was elected yesterday at a plenary session of the Polish United Workers Party Voivodship Committee in Wroclaw. Professor Boguslaw Kedzia was elected to the post. Henryk Jonek was confirmed as editor-in-chief of party paper GAZETA ROBOTNICZA.

Warsaw Workers Congress Forum Formed, Meets

AU3110100289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 28-29 Oct 89 p 4

[Report signed 'i': "The Warsaw Workers Congress Forum Has Been Formed"]

[Text] On 27 October 1989, at the initiative of the Warsaw factories, representatives of various circles of the working class, with the participation of scientific workers and social activists, held a meeting and decided to unite their separate efforts and strive to bring about a unification of all the forces of the socialist left. The name "The Warsaw Workers Congress Forum" was

adopted. The following groups joined the Forum: the Movement of Warsaw's Factories for the Reform of the Polish United Workers Party, the group Pulse from the Academy of Social Sciences, and initiative groups from the Academy of Social Sciences and the Warsaw Polytechnic departments based in Leszno and Tulowice.

The following slogan was adopted at the meeting: "What Poland and What Party?" which is to form the fundament of the joint deliberations. It was decided to continue work on the principles of a program for a future party of the socialist left. There was also work on the elaboration of proposals for the election of delegates to the coming party congress. The principle that the real and democratic influence of the party base should put forward representatives to the congress was accepted.

A coordinating committee and a group of advisers have been set up within the structure of the Forum, and these are standing by ready to render help and advice to party organizations.

The Forum considers that the search for common points of agreement is the most important task in the pre-congress preparations, and regards horizontal coordination as the necessary democratic precondition for the congress preparations, the selection of delegates, and the elaboration of the congress agenda.

All those people who agree with this approach and are ready to contribute to its program, are seen as allies by the Forum, and they are all invited to cooperate with the Forum. The Forum is part of the All-Poland Workers Movement which came into being on the 23 October 1989.

Students Demonstrate Outside Council of Ministers

*LD0111202989 Warsaw Television Service
in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] The Council of Ministers' office in Warsaw is being picketed by members of the School Students Movement from the tri-city and members of the Freedom and Peace Movement. They demand a halt to the construction of the nuclear power station in Zarnowiec and announced that they will demonstrate until the government makes a decision concerning the power station.

Parliamentary Caucus Sessions Held 30 Oct

*LD3110003889 Warsaw PAP in English
2254 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 30—At today's session of the citizen's caucus chairman of the Sejm committee for economic policy, budget and finances Ryszard Bugaj stated that members of the committee were of the opinion that several issues should be discussed more thoroughly, among them food subsidies (should Poland be the only European country with such low subsidies), the principle of the equality of property sectors with regard to interests of various groups, including farmers, as well as the range of preferences in privatisation.

The caucus also heard a report on its members' recent trips to Norway, Great Britain and Sweden.

In a related development, at a session of the parliamentary floor group of the United Peasant Party [UPP] deputies considered as necessary to consolidate the group's stance on farming at a meeting of the Sejm against the background of ever less visible effects of farming policy with special regard to land reclamation.

The group also decided to set up a working team under deputy Jozef Zegar to analyse the government economic program as concerns farming.

In connection with the election of the constitutional tribunal judges provided in the Sejm agenda, OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club] head Bronislaw Geremek reported on talks of caucuses' leaderships dealing with presented candidates.

Among the 12-person composition of the tribunal six people will hold their function for four consecutive years.

The new composition of the tribunal would be made of four Polish United Workers Party representatives, three from OKP, two from UPP and DP [Democratic Party] on the whole list.

Geremek also reported that according to an OKP initiative, on November 11 a solemn mass will be held in the Warsaw Cathedral, followed by a march to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier where flowers will be laid.

Enlarged Plenum Proceedings Resume 25 Oct

AU2510105689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0858 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/10/1989—The proceedings of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) were resumed under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu on Wednesday, 25 October.

The participants examine questions of high significance for the improvement of the ideological and political-educative activity. Aspects are also approached related to the preparation of the 14th RCP Congress due between 20 and 25 November 1989.

The plenary meeting also debates the self-management and self-sufficiency programme for a good supply of the population with foodstuffs and industrial consumer goods for 1990, which is to be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for approval.

Debate Reported

AU2510202289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1950 GMT 25 Oct 89

["Conclusion of the Proceedings of the Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/10/1989—On Wednesday, October 25, the proceedings of the enlarged plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) continued under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the debates on the items in the agenda numerous participants took the floor. The speakers expressed high appreciation for the exposition President Nicolae Ceausescu read the previous day in connection with questions related to socialism, to the ideological and political-educational activity of developing revolutionary consciousness, of moulding the new man, a purposeful builder of socialism and communism in Romania. They expressed fully approval of the theses, ideas and orientations contained in that document.

The participants reiterated their unanimous adhesion to the proposal concerning Nicolae Ceausescu's re-election to the highest office of general secretary of the party at the great forum of the Romanian Communists due this November and expressed their full approval of the Draft Programme-Directive and the Theses for the Fourteenth Congress of the RCP, of the home and foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state.

The plenum unanimously decided that the exposition should be adopted as a programme of revolutionary work and action of the party, of the entire people.

Also unanimously approved was the Programme for Self-Management and Self-Sufficiency to Secure the

Population's Fine Supply With Foodstuffs and Consumer Goods in 1990. The plenum decided that programme be submitted for debate to the Legislative Chamber and the forthcoming session of the Grand National Assembly.

The plenary meeting also approved unanimously the report on the preparation of the Fourteenth RCP Congress and the organization and unfolding of report and elections meetings and conferences in party organizations.

At the end of the plenary meeting the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, made a speech.

Referring inter alia to the plenary meeting's unanimous approval of the self-sufficiency programme, Nicolae Ceausescu showed it to be set on the outstanding achievements in agriculture this year. Nicolae Ceausescu said that in consideration of the data released that for cereal production would top 60 million tonnes, that is five times more than in 1965. At the same time, the potato, vegetable, fruit, grape, sunflower, and soy bean outputs are virtually double and, in some cases, even three times larger than a year ago.

As for animal breeding, he said, although the targets set by the Thirteenth Congress have not been attained, the necessary livestock exists to ensure the population's fine supply. There will be roughly 90 kgs of meat per capita in 1990 as a result of the livestock to be slaughtered with a view to attaining that meat production. Next year, the speaker said, 1.1 million head of cattle and 8.5 million pigs will be slaughtered from the centralized state livestock to meet home consumption requirements, adding to which will be another 4.5 million pigs or so to be slaughtered on individual farmsteads. At the same time, the fowl production will increase, to which end 300 million poultry will be slaughtered from the state stock, adding to which will be tens of millions of poultry to be slaughtered on individual farmsteads. Likewise, roughly eight million sheep will be slaughtered.

A fine administration of those means provides for a most appropriate supply which virtually exceeds the norms set by international organizations, as well as the norms set in this country as concerns caloric consumption and the consumption of meat and meat preparations and of other products, the speaker said, pointing out that that programme was realistic.

On leaving the hall that venue the proceedings of the plenary meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mrs Elena Ceausescu and the other members in the party and state leadership were welcomed by thousands of Bucharesters, working people in enterprises and institutions, students and pupils, who showed their full approval of the documents the plenum adopted and reiterated their attachment to the home and foreign policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state.

Ceausescu Makes Working Visit to Braila County

*AU2910100389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1912 GMT 28 Oct 89*

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Braila County"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28/10/1989—On Saturday, October 28, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu started a working visit to Braila County, where they will also attend the festivities to mark Harvest Day.

The County of Braila, which has benefited from the scientific, revolutionary policy of harmonious balanced distribution of the forces of production throughout the country's territory, has known a sustained development pace on all planes—economic, social, cultural and in urban development. At present, it boasts a modern industry, which capitalizes its substantial material and human resources at high efficiency levels and turns out an overall production more than six times larger than back in 1965. Prominent are machine building, metallurgy, chemistry, power engineering, woodworking. Agriculture is an important branch in the county's economy, firmly following the path of the new agrarian revolution. Furthermore, tens of thousands of workplaces and large social and cultural units were created providing ever better living conditions to all the county's inhabitants.

Thousands of thousands of Braila residents extended a warm welcome to Nicolae Ceausescu from the first moments of his visit.

The working visit started at the state farming enterprise of Urleasca, which was awarded the lofty title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." The unit has known strong development and updating in the years of socialism. Benefiting from substantial investment to mechanize operations and develop irrigation systems and using highly productive strains and hybrids, the enterprise has turned out plant and animal productions that have been larger with every passing year.

It was stressed with satisfaction that the large yields achieved this year with all crops, the particular results scored in the other areas of activity strongly proved the correctness of the agrarian policy of the RCP and Romanian state of continuingly strengthening and developing the state and cooperative property, the only one apt to ensure the uninterrupted progress of socialist agriculture, enhance its contribution to the growth of the national economy.

Conveying the warmest congratulations on the results scored this year with all crops by the state agricultural enterprise, just as by the whole county, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that the achievements scored proved the great possibilities of the Romanian socialist agriculture state and cooperative as well as the opportunity all cooperative farmers and people working in agriculture

had to achieve high yields and fine incomes, thus contributing to the country's general development.

The dialogue with the tillers of the land of Braila County continued in the commune of Tudor Vladimirescu, a settlement which, like all the settlements of the country, underwent renewing changes in the years of socialism.

After driving through the commune, President Nicolae Ceausescu stopped in the civic centre where, in front of boards with figures and graphs, he was informed about the development level and the results of both the agroindustrial council and the Tudor Vladimirescu Commune.

He was informed about the achievements of the local producer cooperative farm. The successes scored by that unit firmly embarked upon the road of intensive agriculture are closely linked to the modernization process, the yields obtained proving in this case too the truth that only in conditions of the great socialist property make possible both the achievement of big crops and the ensurance of the well-being of the working people in villages.

The visit to the Braila enterprise turned into an in-depth analysis of the major problems related to the development and modernization of the production of that representative unit of the Romanian machine building industry.

It was stressed that fabrication structure saw a continuous modernization marked by a growing share of large-power excavators, of heavy hydraulic elements, ship and offshore rig equipment.

The concern for the assimilation of new improved equipment is illustrated by the wide range of hydraulic scoop shovels, aggregates for the metal industry, ships, the construction materials industry, and large sites, heavy reducers, other installations and equipment. It was emphasized that due to its technical equipment and experience the enterprise was in a position to manufacture any type of machinery comparable with similar products of other countries.

Representative in this respect is the electrically driven 5-cubic-meters scoop shovel developed in anticipation of the Fourteenth RCP Congress, a high-performance equipment that arrested the attention through its particular construction and functional characteristics.

The steps pursuing the continuous improvement of the performance of the manufactured aggregates and equipment, of their quality and competitiveness are highlighted by the fame enjoyed on the foreign market by the products with the "Progressul" Braila trade mark. The Braila enterprise's export in the first nine months of this year equalled that of the whole year 1988.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited the fibre, pulp and paper combine of Braila which manufactures more than half of the country's production of artificial fibre and yarn. At the same time, the combine meets most of the economy's requirements of pulp and hemicellulose, paper and cardboards. Following large investments, the

expansion and modernization of plants, the industrial marketable production increased more than three times over the past two decades. New units have been commissioned this year among which the fodder yeast plant.

It was stressed that modern, high-yield technologies were applied in the combine. At present, the share of new and updated products accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total production.

Also presented was the way steps were taken to implement the programme for a better organization of work and the modernization of fabrication processes, with stress on the fact that only the application of the measures set for the first stage, 1986-1988, made possible the obtainment of a considerable additional output.

The RCP general secretary asked that most responsible action be taken to increase the production of pulp obtained from straw, reed, rice straw, and cut on wood consumption. It was also recommended that due attention be paid to the assimilation of new products required by various sectors of the national economy.

Nicolae Ceausescu called the attention of the experts there that the major question of research was the 50-per cent reduction of material consumption and the best capitalization of raw and subsidiary materials, to obtain two kinds of pulp one for chemical fibres and one for cardboards.

With the results scored so far as a basis it was recommended that a pilot station for pulp and artificial fibres be set up there in Braila. The need was stressed to work for doubling the quantity of pulp in one tonne of wood, to improve the quality of production concomitantly with reducing material and energy requirements and increasing productivity. Next, Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu met with the members of the Bureau of the county party committee.

President Nicolae Ceausescu's working visit, together with Mrs Elena Ceausescu, to Braila County continues.

Harvest Day Speech

AU2910153289 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romanian 31 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at a mass rally in Braila Municipality on the occasion of his working visit to Braila County and to mark Harvest Day]

[Text] Dear comrades: To begin with, I would like to extend warm revolutionary greetings and best wishes to you, participants in this big mass rally and all inhabitants of Braila Municipality and County, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the government, the State Council, and myself personally. [cheers, chants]

We are in Braila to participate in festivities devoted to Harvest Day. At the same time, we paid a working visit here: We visited a state agricultural enterprise, an agricultural production cooperative, and two large industrial

enterprises in Braila. Generally speaking, we have gained good impressions from what we saw in connection with the activity in both agriculture and industry. I would like to congratulate the working people in industry and agriculture for their results and I hope that they will obtain ever better results in all spheres of activity. [cheers, chants]

Indeed, Braila, like all of our fatherland's counties, has scored important results in increasing industrial production and raising the qualitative and technical level of production. The two industrial enterprises I visited as well as other enterprises in the county have registered important progress and are concerned with the need to improve and modernize all of the activity on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, in order to raise the overall level of production, qualitative standards, economic efficiency and profitability, and labor productivity and to commendably utilize the means available to enterprises, namely, the fixed assets and the manpower consisting of workers, technicians, engineers, and all working people. These are good results. However, as I said at the meeting with the county committee bureau, there are still great opportunities for the strong development of the Braila County industry in the coming years. In practical terms, given the existing fixed assets and production capacities, one could and should double the county's industrial production. [cheers, chants]

Concerning the agricultural sector, Braila County has produced good crops this year and, in some areas, it has occupied the first place regarding yields per hectare. Since we are marking Harvest Day in Braila, I would like to point out with great satisfaction that this year all of the fatherland's counties and the whole country have obtained good results for all crops. We have a wheat production of more than 8,000 kg per hectare nationwide, with Braila having scored in excess of 9,000 kg of wheat per hectare, thus occupying the first place countrywide. [cheers, chants]

There are several units in Braila, including Urleasca, which have produced more than 10,000 kg of wheat per hectare. However, there are cooperatives with even larger yields of more than 12,000 kg per hectare. This means that there is still a large potential in this respect, and this is how I understand the pledge taken by the director of the Urleasca state enterprise, namely, that next year the enterprise should produce 15,000 kg of wheat per hectare. There are also other cooperatives and state units which have pledged to do the same and which have produced more than 12,000 kg of wheat per hectare this year. Hence, we are talking about a competition among the best and I would like us to have as many great heroes as possible, producing more than 15,000 kg per hectare. [cheers, chants]

Concerning the corn crops, we have scored yields of 24-25,000 kg per hectare nationwide. Braila County said that it will exceed 30,000 kg. However, it is not the only county with such claims. There are other counties which

report that they will produce more than 31,000 kg, and I think that this is not the last figure, either. Therefore, if Braila also wants to occupy the first place in terms of corn as well, it will have to harvest and store all of the corn, as you have not completed harvesting all of the corn. Then, it is possible that you will occupy the first place in terms of corn as well, although crops of more than 30,000 kg per hectare are a good result by themselves. However, we have two units, a state unit in Braila and an agricultural production cooperative in Ialomita—they are practically neighbors—which have produced more than 40,000 kg of corn per hectare this year. Both of these units have pledged to obtain more than 50,000 corn cobs per hectare next year. However, many agricultural units have pledged to do the same: therefore, many units will compete next year for first place. I would like to congratulate both the county and the units with large corn yields, including the two state and cooperative units with more than 40 tonnes of corn per hectare, and I wish all of them to commendably fulfill their commitments next year. [cheers, chants]

We should also point out that, throughout the country and in all counties, we have many units with large yields, in excess of the average result. There is no county with corn production of less than 20,000 kg per hectare. This is a great achievement of our socialist agriculture. We have good crops of potatoes, sugar beets, vegetables, sunflowers, soya, beans, and practically in all sectors, including fruit and wine growing. This means that, as far as vegetable production is concerned, this year—when we celebrated the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 41st anniversary of the passage to socialist construction—we have actually achieved the targets of the new agrarian revolution. We can say that we have modern and advanced agriculture, in keeping with the new requirements of science in all fields. [cheers, chants]

All of this has resulted in grain production of more than 60 million tonnes—wheat, barley, corn, and so forth. In practical terms, this amounts to 3 tonnes of grain per inhabitant and represents a great victory of the agrarian revolution and of socialism in agriculture. [cheers, chants]

We have good results in the livestock sector, as well; however, I must openly say that they are not as good as those scored in the vegetable sector. Therefore, we should do all we can to strongly develop zootechnics in the next few years, so as to achieve the planned numbers of cattle and sheep and to appropriately increase the production of milk, wool, eggs, and meat. We must strive to fulfill the targets of the new agrarian revolution in the sphere of animal breeding as well. We have made important progress in this respect. We have many front-ranking units which have fulfilled the targets of the new agrarian revolution. However, we should strive to ensure in the coming years that all units and counties will score in zootechnics similar results to those obtained in the vegetable sector. [cheers, chants]

During this big mass rally on Harvest Day, I awarded the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution to Braila County for its results in agriculture. I would like to congratulate all workers in agriculture, the cooperative peasantry, the working people, experts, party organizations, and all Braila working people, because together they contributed to increasing agricultural production and to receiving this high title, which is a token of great appreciation for their work in agriculture. [cheers, chants]

Once again, I warmly congratulate you, comrades, and wish you further progress along the road of attaining the new targets of the agrarian revolution. May you obtain even better results next year and radically improve the situation in the livestock sector. [cheers, chants]

This rally is also being attended by the first secretaries of the neighboring counties, and I am sure that all of the first secretaries are watching the rally on their television sets and are asking themselves whether only Braila deserves the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution, as practically all counties are meeting the necessary conditions for and will receive the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. All counties have produced crops that entitle them to this title. I would like to congratulate all counties in advance for obtaining this high title as a result of their production. [cheers, chants]

Accordingly, we will have a large number of state enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives which will receive the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. I believe that the number of units receiving this high title will be much larger than those whose number is small, that failed to meet the necessary conditions for this award. We have not yet drawn up the final account, but from what we know thus far, one can say that the largest part of the agricultural cooperatives and state agricultural enterprises will receive the high title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. This really amounts to a great victory, the meaning of which, as I said many years ago, is that the spring of the large-scale agriculture has finally arrived, thus proving its ability to become one of the best agricultures in the world. [cheers, chants]

This is also reflected in the strong increase in overall incomes, including revenues in kind. This year the cooperative workers alone will receive about 8 million tonnes of grain—wheat, barley, and corn—as remuneration in kind, which amounts to more than 1,000 kg per each member of each cooperative worker's family. Therefore, as a result of this large increase in agricultural production, the cooperative workers will reap such benefits that—aside from being able to meet all of their needs, including livestock breeding—they will also have something left to use in intercooperative trade. Consequently, we will witness a strong increase in overall incomes, which today almost equal the total production obtained in the 1950-55 period. This is the meaning of this great agricultural victory in figures, or, to repeat myself, in the amount of grain left to cooperative

workers. However, we must realize, comrades, that this year's achievements do not represent a maximum level. We should set out from here and go forward, toward further increasing yields per hectare, toward promoting the country's overall development, continuously raising living standards in villages, and also to increasing the contribution of agriculture to the general development of our fatherland and the construction of socialism and communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

In order to win this great victory of Romanian agriculture, our party, thanks to its consistent policy of socialist construction, and our state have granted a huge amount of aid to agriculture and have invested hundreds of billions of lei in irrigation, land improvement operations, mechanization, chemicalization, and in all spheres of activity. Without these general efforts to improve the fertility and productive potential of the land, and without mechanization, new technologies, and the building of other agricultural facilities, we would not have been able to score these results.

I have said this before, but I want to repeat it here, at this big mass rally, namely, that socialism is an important step forward because it eliminates oppression and inequality. However, the mere implementation of socialism in agriculture does not also solve the problems of agriculture. Had we declared ourselves satisfied with just having cooperatives and state enterprises and had we worked as we did before, then we would have been left with backward agriculture. Given our large-scale socialist agriculture, we must implement and carry out the necessary measures and work to facilitate the growth of agricultural production.

We also paid great attention to scientific work in agriculture. Without highly productive seeds for all crops, we would not have been able to produce these crops. Therefore, science has played a decisive role in these great results in the vegetable yields of all crops and will obviously continue to play an ever more important part in achieving the new targets mentioned here, a short while ago, for all sectors. On the basis of cooperation and unity among all sectors of activity, we have the possibility to score new results in agricultural production growth and raise the animal breeding sector, with everything it implies, to the level of vegetable production.

Of course, comrades, in the last instance, the decisive role in all of these achievements was played by the people—cooperative members, agricultural workers, experts, and our cadres in all spheres of activity—and by our system of democratic management bodies for all sectors. One should emphasize that our great achievements in all spheres—I am now particularly referring to this great victory in agriculture—are telling proof of the correctness of the policy of our Communist Party, which has done and is doing all it can to apply the overall laws on human social development and the principles of scientific socialism to realities prevailing in Romania. The party is fulfilling its role as organizer and unifier of all of the people's efforts toward building the most just

society, namely, of socialism and, later, of communism in Romania. [cheers, chants]

It is necessary to further improve our activity in all spheres. Party bodies and organizations should improve their overall work, in close connection with the working people in all sectors, by firmly following the general line of building socialism with the people and for the people. One cannot even conceive of building socialism unless it is done with all of the people, thus further raising the people's material and intellectual well-being and strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty. [cheers, chants]

When I congratulated the working people in Braila, I meant all working people here, both Communists and non-party members, and both the county committee and the people's council. When I refer to the working people, the inhabitants of the county, I mean all of them, as they are all citizens with the same rights and duties. The Communists have one responsibility, namely to work harder and to be in the front ranks of fulfilling the revolutionary program. Hence, my congratulations to the county included all inhabitants of the county and the whole country. [cheers, chants]

There is a dialectical unity between party organizations and all of the county's citizens. No matter how well the party organization of a county organization may work, if it does not succeed in uniting and in working together with all peasants from each unit and with all workers, then it will not accomplish anything. Therefore, party leadership means unity and cooperation culminating in a single whole, which will ensure our fatherland's progress to the highest peaks of progress and civilization. However, the same working, living, and education conditions and the same duties and obligations should be ensured for everybody, regardless of nationality, sex and so forth. We are all citizens of the same fatherland and all of us are dutybound to do everything possible to promote the people's well-being, socialism, and communism. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, we examined international problems in detail at the latest plenum. I do not wish to dwell again upon them here. However, I would just like to point out that, by implementing the targets of socialist construction in our fatherland and scoring these great results in agriculture, we demonstrate the strength and superiority of socialist society and the strength of a nation which has eliminated the bourgeois-landlord system, exploitation, and inequalities, has become master of its own destiny, and is shaping its bright future in complete accord, in accordance with its wishes and without any outside interference. [cheers, chants]

Through our great achievements, we are making a contribution to the general cause of socialism and its development throughout the world. At the same time, we are making an active contribution to the policy of peace and cooperation among all nations in the world. The better

results Romania scores in its socioeconomic development, the greater its contribution to the policy of disarmament, to the elimination of underdevelopment, to the creation of a better and more just world, and to the victory of peace throughout the world. [cheers, chants]

As far as we are concerned, Romania is firmly determined to intensify its cooperation with all socialist countries, the developing countries, and the developed capitalist states in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence. We intend to continue to firmly base relations with all states in the world on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and observance of each nation's right to free development, in accordance with its wishes, without any outside interference.

We believe that given the serious international situation today, it is necessary to strengthen the unity and cooperation among all progressive and realistic forces and among all peoples who want to live in peace and independence in order to bring about a new policy in the international arena and to democratically solve the serious problems with the participation of all states. We are convinced that, working in complete unity, all of these forces can and will achieve victory. And we are convinced that, although great efforts are still needed, we will achieve disarmament, eliminate underdevelopment, and achieve a new policy of equality among nations, and a better and more just world. For this purpose we will work with all our energy. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades, once again I want to emphasize that we have gained positive impressions about what we have seen during this visit regarding work and activities in all areas: in industry, in agriculture, and in the development of activities in general, in education, and in the political-educational activity of molding the new man, the builder of socialism. Most of all, we have gained particular impressions about our meeting with the workers, with the peasants, and with the working people in the enterprises and units in Braila and in the communes which we visited, about the feelings with which we were welcomed everywhere, and about the enthusiasm of all citizens. I would like to emphasize specifically the enthusiasm of the children, of the women, and, in fact, of all citizens. We view all of this as an expression of the trust in the policy promoted by our Communist Party and as an expression of the unabated determination to work in such a way that Braila will come to the 14th RCP Congress with greater results in the other sectors of activity as well.

You have achieved positive results in agriculture. By the 14th congress and the end of the year, you have to fulfill the plan and all tasks resting on the county in industry as well. Let us see to it that all of this will lead to the implementation of the decisions on self-sufficiency and to an improvement in the standard of living of all working people.

Once again I would like to emphasize that Braila has great possibilities available to achieve better agricultural yields next year and much better results in industry, so as to make an even more important contribution to our country's development in general.

You have won the title of Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution. You have to preserve it. However, you have to struggle to achieve one of the front-ranking places, and if possible first place, in industry and in the other fields as well. I would greet this. [cheers, chants]

Dear comrades. I wish you ever greater successes in all activities. Do all you can so that Braila will always be a strong detachment, both of creative activity and a strong revolutionary force in our homeland's constant march forward toward the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization, toward communism. [cheers, chants]

I wish you much good health and happiness. [cheers, chants]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Oct

AU 2810182989

[Editorial report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 21-27 October period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

Emil Bobu, Ion Coman, Vasile Milea, and Tudor Postelnicu, full and candidate members of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP), attended a festive meeting on Romanian Army Day in Bucharest on 23 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 23 Oct 89)

Ludovic Fazekas, Mihai Gere, and Constantin Olteanu, full and candidate PEC members, attended the plenary meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of Hungarian Nationality, on 26 October in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 26 Oct 89)

Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister, and Barbu Petrescu, Bucharest mayor, attended a Turkish Embassy reception on national day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1926 GMT 27 Oct 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Glavkos Kliridhis, president of the Democratic Rally Party of Cyprus, in Bucharest on 23 October. On 24 October, he addressed a plenum of the RCP Central Committee, in Bucharest. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1405 GMT 24 Oct 89) On 25 October, he addressed the concluding session of the RCP Central Committee plenum in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1950 GMT 25 Oct 89) On 26 October, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired and addressed a plenary meeting of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 26 Oct 89) and visited public catering units in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in

English 1941 GMT 26 Oct 89) On 27 October, Ceausescu received departing Indonesian Ambassador Heman Benny Mochtan (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1004 GMT 27 Oct 89) and attended a Grand National Assembly session in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1629 GMT 27 Oct 89)

Elena Ceausescu, PEC member and first deputy prime minister, chaired a plenary meeting of the National Council of Science and Education, in Bucharest on 21 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 21 Oct 89)

Constantin Dascalescu, PEC member and prime minister of the government, received CSSR Vice Premier Jaromir Obzina in Bucharest on 21 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1908 GMT 21 Oct 89) On 27 October, he addressed a session of the Grand National Assembly in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 27 Oct 89)

Ion Coman, PEC member and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, attended a plenary meeting of the Council of Romanian Working People of German

Nationality on 26 October in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2015 GMT 26 Oct 89)

Ion Dinca, PEC member and first deputy prime minister, attended a CSSR Embassy reception on the anniversary of the creation of an independent Czechoslovak state. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1553 GMT 27 Oct 89)

Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, attended an Austrian Embassy reception on national day. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1929 GMT 26 Oct 89)

Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council, opened the proceedings of the Legislative Chamber on 26 October in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 26 Oct 89)

Constantin Olteanu, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, received a delegation of the CPC Central Committee Party School in Bucharest on 21 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1544 GMT 21 Oct 89)

Significance of Gorbachev-Bush Talks Noted

LD0111211789 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The news that the leaders of the two superpowers, Bush and Gorbachev, are to meet 2-3 December, that is, several months earlier than planned is yet another reason to conclude that the relations between the United States and the USSR have never, with the exception of the war years, been as good as they are now. The U.S. President was hesitant for a while about meeting Gorbachev this year, and many criticized him for this. In fact, the White House was waiting to see how Moscow would react to trends in Europe, above all in Poland, Hungary, and the GDR and when it had assured itself that the USSR supports the process of democratization in those countries and that it is interested in cooperation with the West, above all with the United States, an agreement that there should be a summit meeting as early as the beginning of December was certainly logical.

This was probably also influenced by the favorable course of the Soviet-U.S. talks on the reduction of strategic arms, the limitation of the production of chemical weapons, and the reduction of nuclear testing. Also significant is the rapprochement of the stands of Moscow and Washington on regional problems and crisis points, and above all the fact that the United States is increasingly convinced that Gorbachev will succeed and that that success will mean peace in the long term, not only in relations between the two superpowers but also in East-West relations as a whole.

At the present juncture it is hard to say whether Bush and Gorbachev will sign some agreement or whether this will only be an agreement for a further meeting in the United States at the end of the spring, when it is expected that the two leaders will mark out new paths of long-term cooperation. However, whatever the case, the increasingly favorable conditions for resolving all burning international problems, in particular the problem of disarmament. It is also to be expected that East-West economic cooperation will also be strengthened, primarily between the USSR and the United States.

The Americans are in a position both economically and politically to alleviate the problems facing Gorbachev in the domestic arena, and on the other hand to do nothing which would complicate or slow up the processes in Eastern Europe. It would not be good if the United States interfered in any way in the problems of Eastern Europe, particularly since the USSR, the leading force of the Warsaw Pact, is not doing so. Any interference in the internal affairs of the Eastern European socialist countries could result in the democratic processes within them taking an undesirable turn, the more so since the outcome of these processes is still unknown and can be determined only by those countries which have begun reforms and others which will probably be caught up in them although they continue to resist, such as Romania.

Drnovsek Congratulates GDR's Krenz on Election

AU3110135589 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 89 p 9

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, congratulated Egon Krenz on his election as Chairman of the State Council of the GDR.

Protest Note Sent to Swedish Center Party

AU3110190489 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Protest Against Title of 'Honorary Croat'"]

[Text] Stockholm, 23 Oct—The Yugoslav Embassy and the Association of Yugoslav Clubs in Sweden today sent a protest note to the Swedish Center Party regarding the decision of one of its members, Bertil Fiskese [spelling of name as transliterated], to accept the title of "Honorary Croat," awarded by the "Croatian Alliance" in Sweden, an organization which has been advocating the break up of Yugoslavia for a long time.

Fiskese is a member of the Center Party's leadership and one of the vice presidents of the Swedish Parliament.

The protest sent to the Center Party points out that this move by its member has deeply affected the patriotic feelings of the members of the Yugoslav Association, which consists of 126 clubs of our compatriots in that country.

Group Protests in Sweden Over Shatri

LD2910192789 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1725 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] Stockholm, Oct 29 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Association in Sweden will send a sharp protest to the Swedish television, which brought before its cameras and microphones Naser Shatri, a notorious enemy of Yugoslavia, president of the organization Dr Ljubisa

Stojanovic said that the presentation represented a brazen act for which it was (?known beforehand) that it would disturb the more than 50,000 Yugoslav citizens living in Sweden. In anticipation of the reply of the Swedish authorities to the demand of Yugoslavia for Shatri's extradition, the Swedish media say among other things that the case will prove a "delicate one" for the government in Stockholm, as it is allegedly not quite (?certain) whether Shatri is a political refugee or a terrorist.

Shatri recently gravely wounded police inspector Tomislav Babovic in Istok, in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, and after three weeks in hiding turned up in Sweden, where he has been residing since 1984.

Yugoslavia's official request for the extradition of Shatri on Friday was accompanied by a demand that he not be allowed to appear on Swedish television.

Shatri's version of the events in Istok was first shown in yesterday afternoon's broadcast for Yugoslavs, "Seven Days," and later, somewhat abbreviated, in the evening news programme, "Aktuellt," in Swedish.

Loncar Proposes Cooperation Ideas With EFTA

*LD301014489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1826 GMT 26 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, October 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar has sent a letter to foreign minister of member countries of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) stating new ideas on institutional forms of cooperation between Yugoslavia and that European economic grouping, official Yugoslav sources announced on Thursday.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference here today that this was a new step in the search for favourable forms cooperation with EFTA—a topic also discussed at Yugoslavia's bilateral negotiations with EFTA members. Vajgl stated no other details about the content of the Yugoslav proposal.

The strengthening of cooperation with EFTA is one of the objectives of Yugoslavia's efforts to actively join the economic trends [words indistinct] integration processes in Europe.

Markovic Sends Memorandum to EC Commission

*LD2810101389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0400 GMT 28 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic sent a letter today to the president of the Commission of the European Communities with a memorandum in which the Yugoslav Government sets out its commitments and measures aimed at implementing reforms and proposals for promoting cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Community (EC).

The letter was handed to the head of the delegation of the commission of the EC in Belgrade, and a copy to the ambassador of France in Belgrade, the country which is currently chairing the EC.

Demonstrations Continue in Urosevac, Pristina

Urosevac Students Protest

*LD0111203789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Urosevac, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Several thousand students of elementary and secondary schools paraded through the center of Urosevac between 1400 and 1500. There were no incidents.

However, in Zejnel Hajdini secondary educational center during the main break, slogans such as "Tito, party," and "We want suspension" could be heard in

Albanian and Serbo-Croat respectively. Ten unidentified people, who are not students of the school, were noticed in the center's atrium. In Nikola Tesla technical school center, while students were leaving afternoon classes, 10 hooligans joined them, calling them cowards and saying that they do not dare to organize demonstrations. Fortunately, the students refused to be provoked and left the school peacefully.

Pristina Albanians Protest

*LD0111192889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Pristina, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Albanian nationalists and separatists again organized demonstrations in Pristina. At the same time, like last night, at 1750 [1650 GMT], a group of about 100 demonstrators started to shout slogans, "Kosovo, Republic", and "The Constitution, Republic, Peacefully or With Force," in front of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee building in the very center of Pristina. The second slogan predominated afterwards, while the number of demonstrators swelled to 1,000.

The ringleaders led the demonstrators by the Kosovski Bozuri Hotel, then through Ramiz Sadiku and Miladin Popovic Streets, until they reached the technical secondary school and the high school. Policemen did not intervene this evening, and the demonstrators withdrew to side streets in the northeast area of Pristina.

Pristina Militia Intervenes

*AU0111193589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Albanian nationalists and separatists have again organized demonstrations in Pristina. Our colleague, Kosta Krajineanic has the details:

At the same time as yesterday and the day before yesterday—at 1750 [1650 GMT]—a demonstration by Albanian nationalists and separatists flared up this evening in the very center of Pristina on the main street in front of the building of the provincial committee of the League of Communists and the promenade full of people. For the first few minutes the group did not contain more than about 100 mainly young people. They started by shouting the slogan: Kosovo, republic, and set off down the street chanting: Constitution, republic, by will or by force; Azem Vlasi, and singing: I have given my oath, I will not give Kosovo.

At the Kosovski Bozur Hotel they turned into Ramiz Sadiku Street and passed by the Kosovo museum and the Ivo Lola Ribar High School arriving at the secondary technical school. They stayed here expecting to be joined by the school students who were then finishing school for the day. At that point, the demonstrators numbered around 1,000. Their main slogan continued to be: Constitution, republic, by will or by force.

Since the students did not join them, they set off along Proleterska Street toward the north-east part of the town, a rough district, with a labyrinth of dark narrow streets. Such places seem to be the main refuge of the demonstrators because they can hide and even use firearms there. The day before yesterday they hid in a similar district in Vranjevac after the militia intervened.

However, it is interesting—and this is how this event differs from previous ones—that members of the security organs did not intervene. Only when the demonstrators left the secondary technical school did bigger militia units arrive which have been intervening while I have been speaking.

Police Disperse Protestors

LD0111200689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1851 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—Members of the security services dispersed with tear-gas a group of 1,000 demonstrators, who shouted extremely separatistic slogans through the streets of Pristina this evening around 1800 [1700 GMT]. Police also dispersed about 200 demonstrators in Podujevo around 1800.

There was yet another attempt to organize demonstrations in the Lipljan bus station, while secondary school students waited for buses to return to their homes.

The demonstrators are filling the separatistic slogans "Kosovo, republic" and "Constitution-republic, peacefully or by force" with Azem Vlasi's name and demands for his release from prison.

Protestors Open Fire on Militia

AU0211153289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Text] At about noon today a group of Albanian separatists opened fire on militia in the Pristina district of Suncani Breg. According to eyewitness accounts, after a short exchange of gunfire, the four demonstrators barricaded themselves in one of the buildings in the district. Our journalist reports that strong security forces are trying to disarm and arrest the demonstrators.

Albanian separatists appeared again in Podujevo: about 100 secondary school students attempted to organize demonstrations. The main slogan was: Kosovo, republic.

Unconfirmed Second Death Reported

AU0211151289 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Nov 89

[Janko Saradzen report from Pristina]

[Text] About 1 hour ago, the Kosovo Provincial Committee for Information issued a statement about the first loss of life during the demonstrations in Pristina last night, which our radio reported at 2200 yesterday [21 GMT on 1 November]. The victim was Bedri Sokolji,

aged 27, of the village of Luk, resident in Pristina; he died at the Pristina Surgical Clinic after he was mortally wounded with a firearm by a plain clothes agent.

Bedri Sokolji, a manual worker, was married and the father of one child. He was buried in Podujevo at 1500 today.

We have learned unofficially—but it has not been confirmed—that another person died during the demonstrations yesterday. Several demonstrators were wounded.

All this happened in Vranjevac, the least peaceful quarter of Pristina, where the security forces today are most numerous. Otherwise it was relatively quiet in Pristina this morning. Nevertheless, the security forces were strengthened all over the province, for the atmosphere remains tense everywhere.

We have learned that several demonstrators have been arrested. Military facilities are under additional protection, and military aircraft have been flying over Pristina for several hours now.

Both political and work differentiations continue in Kosovo work collectives. In plain language this means expulsions from the party and dismissals from jobs. The security forces will be particularly on alert at 1750 [1650 GMT] since it was precisely at that time that demonstrations in Pristina started for 3 days running.

Presidency Rejects Abrogating Vlasi Charges

LD0111184989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—At today's session, the SFRY Presidency voted to reject the proposal that criminal charges against Azem Vlasi and the other accused persons at the process conducted at the district court in Titova Mitrovica, be abrogated. On that occasion, the following statement was issued:

"Today's session of the SFRY Presidency, presided over by President Dr Janez Drnovsek, discussed the proposal that criminal charges against Azem Vlasi and the other accused at the process conducted at the district court in Titova Mitrovica, be abrogated. Certain federal officials and representatives of the Socialist Republic of Serbia presidency and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo took part in the session.

"The SFRY Presidency, after a thorough examination, voted to reject the proposal for abrogation.

"At today's session, the SFRY Presidency, in accordance with its previous conclusions, was briefed about the work regarding alterations of and amendments to the SFRY Penal Code in accordance with the demands and needs of our society, and the enforced international norms.

The SFRY Presidency also discussed issues regarding international relations and activities in our country."

TANJUG Comments on Trial

LD0111215489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2000 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, November 1 (TANJUG)—People in Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia reject unfounded disturbances and political campaigns in some parts of Yugoslavia in general and in the Republic of Slovenia in particular related to the trial of Azem Vlasi, the former head of the Province of Kosovo's communists, and another 14 ethnic Albanians, it was emphasised at the session of the Presidency of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia here today.

The indictment charges Vlasi and Kosovo's 14 former businessmen with having endangered Yugoslavia's constitutional order in a counter-revolutionary way.

Serbia's Socialist Alliance, said Radmila Andjelkovic, president of this mass political organisation, is resolutely for not bringing any pressure to bear on the court trying Vlasi and for making it possible for it to establish the material truth and bring its verdict.

Giving support to the ethnic Albanian separatists can be seen as an act of treason against Yugoslavia, she said. By way of such acts via Kosovo Serbia is being attacked and a consequence of such doing is deepening divisiveness among nationalities both in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, Andjelkovic added.

In a talk with the leadership of Djakovica, a town in Kosovo, today, Rahman Morina, the chief of Kosovo's communists, said that being worried about the trial being held in the town of Titova Mitrovica are those who fear lest the trial could uncover all hidden games aimed at breaking Yugoslavia apart through Kosovo.

While in Serbia and Kosovo being insisted is on continuing the trial discontinued for a time by reason of the defence's many demands and remarks, in the seaport of Split, the Republic of Croatia, the presidency of the local committee of the League of Communists today sent an appeal to the competent state organ to stop legal proceedings and throw the case out in the trial of Azem Vlasi.

The initiative for stopping the proceedings coming from an organ of the League of Communists does not mean an act of violating the independence of the judiciary in this case since the trial was started by a political decision, the Split communists pointed out.

The presidency of the Split youth organisation accepted a petition by the youth organisation of Zagreb, chief city of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia, insisting on throwing out of Yugoslavia's penal code such provisions which make possible a trial for political acts and thinking.

The petition would have summarily set free all those who have been convicted of political acts under the penal code and stop trials now being under way over them.

Kosovo's Morina Interviewed on Unity in Serbia

AU3110163189 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 89 pp 7,8

[Interview with Rahman Morina, president of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, by Zejnel Zejneli—place and date of interview not given]

[Excerpts] Pristina, 14 Oct—Rahman Morina, president of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, has come to the position of head of the League of Communists of Kosovo in an extremely difficult period during which Albanian nationalists and separatists started an open rebellion in Kosovo. Albanian nationalist bureaucrats then played their last card and joined separatists in order to tear Kosovo apart from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Morina has introduced a new style of work into the Provincial Committee and has also won the confidence of the majority of citizens in the province, irrespective of their national affiliation. At the very beginning, he clearly said that one must come to grips with separatists at once and that Kosovo's future is in Serbia and Yugoslavia alone.

Rahman Morina agreed to give an interview to POLITIKA saying that he will answer all questions because, in his opinion, there are no questions that cannot be talked about.

Confidence Is Difficult to Regain

[Zejneli] What is the political-security situation in Kosovo like today?

[Morina] These assessments are known to the Yugoslav public and, what is very important is that they are identical in the League of Communists of Kosovo, the League of Communists of Serbia, or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The political-security situation in Kosovo is still very complex and difficult, albeit showing a constant improvement. Of course, the situation is not the same in all communities, hostile activity from the positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism is more intensive in the communities in which the League of Communists and other self-managing socialist forces were insufficiently energetic in taking over political initiative and in those where political differentiation is inconsistent, something which has a negative influence on the political activity among broad masses, and even helps spread the disbelief among working people and citizens about the possibility to change the situation. This is typical of Gnjilane, Prizren, Glogovac, Istok, Podujevo, and some other communities. The political-security situation has been improving, although that is a slow and difficult process. The interethnic confidence and the confidence in the League of Communists and its resoluteness to endure along the road of normalizing the situation in Kosovo are being regained. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] Do you think that one should remove those people who contributed to the hatred and divisions and who supported separatists in any way and in any community, and that by doing this alone one can contribute to stabilization and restore interethnic confidence?

[Morina] No. The most important thing is what the new people, those who will replace them, will do, whether they will be able to mobilize people over positive programs, whether they will manage to create this joint front of all peoples and nationalities in Kosovo that we need so much. The mere replacement of people holding important posts in itself does not mean anything. This is only a precondition for a big job that awaits us in the political and economic reform.

Rifts Created by a Wrong Policy Carried Out for Years

[Zejneli] How is one to eliminate the rift between the Serbs and Montenegrins on one, and Albanians on the other side? How is one to strengthen the joint front?

[Morina] Everything that has been done here in Kosovo has been done in order to eliminate this rift which is in the interest of everybody living here in Kosovo. One has the impression sometimes that everything now being done in Kosovo is done in the interest of Serbs and Montenegrins alone. But that is a wrong impression, that is not true. Many injustices that had been done to the Serbs and Montenegrins are now being made good, and this is to no one's detriment, nor does it harm the Albanians. That would be against the political orientations of the League of Communists.

Much political work will be necessary in order to bridge the many gaps and rifts that wrong policy created for years and decades. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] What is hidden behind the claims about alleged disagreements between the Serbs who have been living in Kosovo for a long time and the newcomers?

[Morina] I do not understand this division and I have never agreed with it. These divisions bring quarrels among people. There is no sense in expecting any privileges on that basis. It is a question of what kind of attitude we should then have toward the people who come to work in Kosovo for the first time. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] What is the activity of the League of Communists in the communities that have become ethnically pure?

[Morina] These communities are not excluded from the activities carried out in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia which pertain to the implementation of the Yugoslav program. One has been striving to bring back Serbs and Montenegrins to these communities. Albanians living in these communities should not be afraid that they will be left to themselves and that no facilities will be constructed there to help employment. Albanian separatists spread this disinformation with the idea of upsetting

people and spreading discontent. Facilities are being constructed in these communities and will continue to be constructed whenever they are economically justifiable. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] In your speeches you frequently point to the negative consequences of divisions and disunity in the League of Communists. What are your views about the problem today?

[Morina] Some members of the leaderships do not care much about society as a whole, they refuse to see other people's positive ideas, and they are not prepared to revise their views even when events and life itself show that they were wrong. This arbitrariness, lack of tolerance, and sectionalism, this lack of understanding on the part of the people occupying key posts in our country can have fatal consequences. We must be aware of the fact that disunity in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia creates all forms of sectionalism, regionalism, nationalism, and bureaucratic behavior and may result in encapsulation, divisions, and may even break Yugoslavia apart. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] The unity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia has finally been realized. Are there any visible results?

[Morina] It is known what political damage resulted from the economic, cultural, and other kinds of separation from our own republic. It is known that this also resulted in constant conflicts and quarrels between leaderships. This has also affected relations among peoples and nationalities in Kosovo. Conditions are now created for firmer links and essential changes for the better. If we want real progress in Kosovo and if we decide for the quickest economic development of Kosovo, we need greater economic, scientific, and cultural integration not only with the republic, but also with other parts of the country. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] The media in Slovenia and Croatia have been presenting the thesis about staged political trials in connection with the latest counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo.

[Morina] If we advocate a law-governed state and independent judiciary, it is then normal to support these principles in practice as well. This means that one must leave responsible organs to do their work in conformity with the law. It is unacceptable to prejudge court decisions concerning anybody's responsibility.

[Zejneli] The tasks from the Yugoslav program on Kosovo are being performed very slowly. What causes the delays and why are they caused?

[Morina] The sluggishness and delays originate in Kosovo and beyond. The main problem lies in the failure to fulfill obligations and ensure resources. [passage omitted] One has to make specific steps in order that the people see that something is being done, that they feel safe, and see that the entire country is concerned about their being able to stay in Kosovo, about the speedier

return of the people who have emigrated, and arrival of those who would like to live and work in Kosovo. The Socialist Republic of Serbia has done the most in this respect, but its abilities are also limited. I think that everybody else, and above all the Federation, should fulfill their obligations. We have clearly said that Kosovo is a joint concern of the entire Yugoslav community and one should not go back on it.

[Zejneli] One has the impression that everything has been left to Serbia, but, at the same time, every proposal coming from this republic is received with distrust in some developed north-eastern communities.

[Morina] I have spoken about the commitment of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and I have nothing to add to that. In my opinion, the efforts made by comrades in this community are great and that such criticism is malicious and tendentious, because the idea is to use Kosovo to settle some other bills. In fact, what is involved is that some people are bothered by the unity achieved in Serbia. They are bothered by the fact that everything is discussed openly in Serbia now and that all assessments on the most important questions are made unanimously. I think that they are bothered by the fact that there are no more quarrels and disagreements in Serbia, because that was always counted upon when establishing relationship at the federal level. [passage omitted]

[Zejneli] Is it true that, as some maliciously claim, attempts to introduce the domination of the majority people are hidden behind the support for the principle "one man—one vote"?

[Morina] I think that this is malicious, because in this country nobody can impose his will on others. [passage omitted]

Morina Nominated Kosovo Party President

LD0211001489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—On the basis of the public debate in municipal league of communists [LC] organizations, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium proposed, as stated, Rahman Morina for president and Ljubomir Popovic for secretary of the Presidium of the LC Provincial Committee of this province. The proposal, as stated, was unanimously supported by all municipal organizations of the Kosovo LC.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium also proposed that Husamedin Azemi, president of the Economic Chamber and Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium member, and Jusuf Karakusi, provincial secretary for internal affairs, are registered as possible candidates for membership to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium. [passage omitted]

LCY Central Committee on Attacks on Tito

LD3110110989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0934 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 31 (TANJUG)—Communists must counter all forms of attacks on and negations of the role and work of the late Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito with arguments, duly and firmly, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) said in Belgrade today.

The Central Committee stands, announced after the party plenum held last Friday when attacks on the late Yugoslav leader were discussed, also underscore that 'nothing, including Tito's role and work, can be exempt from critical re-examination,' especially since the modern crisis of socialism 'strongly places the need for a critical re-examination of the practice in seeking the ways towards socialist reform.'

However, the stands further point out that the 'openness for creative re-examination implies also a resolute, principled opposition to attacks on the revolution, socialist self-management, and the role and work of Josip Broz Tito.'

The stands also say that the attacks on Tito's work I mainly aimed at 'negating the Yugoslav workers' and communist movement and the Yugoslav socialist revolution, the national liberation struggle (in World War Two) and socialist development, national equality and independence, and making room for political activities which would lead to the restoration of a bourgeois society.'

Ex-Presidency Member Vrhovec Criticizes Serbia

LD3110123289 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 89 p 7

[Report on interview with Josip Vrhovec, former member of the SFRY Presidency, by Branko Tudjen from VECERNJI LIST: "The Noise Is Penetrating, the Silence Is Encouraging It"—date and place not given]

[Text] "How come there have been so many attacks on you, and where do they come from?" we recently asked Josip Vrhovec in Zagreb during our conversation about pure political issues, after having agreed not to talk about economic problems.

"These attacks are political attacks. I am attacked by those who want to impose the kind of Yugoslavia that is different from that based on the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles and Tito's ideas. What is dirty is the fact that they do not want to speak the truth, and that they are using fabrications and lies to discredit my moral and human integrity. As you may know, I was recently even accused of being a German spy. We discussed this at the last session of the SFRY Presidency, while I was still a member. We decided to let the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs carry out a detailed investigation, find out what is

behind this, and inform the public. Unfortunately, I am still waiting for an explanation." This was stated by Josip Vrhovec in his interview to VECERNJI LIST.

[Tudjen] Does this also refer to the attacks on your speech in Benkovac?

[Vrhovec] Of course. These are only the external symptoms of a serious disease—attempts to denigrate AVNOJ Yugoslavia at any cost, and make a future Yugoslavia follow the steps of Karadjordjevic Yugoslavia [Yugoslavia between 1918-1941]. The persistently repeated demands that 1 December be proclaimed a state holiday serves this purpose. One only needs to imagine the "enthusiasm" that this kind of move would cause among our peoples.

[Tudjen] At the 20th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia you presented a thesis on the clash of two different concepts of Yugoslavia. You were subsequently sharply criticized. Today, however, your diagnosis is becoming increasingly acceptable.

[Vrhovec] In Yugoslavia there is currently a clash between two opposing concepts on federalism and socialism, which means about joint living. It is known that the Serbian leadership is promoting and imposing one concept. This concept is unreservedly supported by the Montenegrin and Vojvodina leaderships. The other one is favored by Slovenia and Croatia.

[Tudjen] You have already spoken about this in the past.

[Vrhovec] Yes, at the 19th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia devoted to Kosovo I warned about this danger. I also spoke about it at the 17th session and especially at the 20th session. I spoke about the emergence of two ideologies, two kinds of politics, and increasingly two parties, as well as about the formally united League of Communists of Yugoslavia. I wanted us to face the real truth in time and to try to seek a way out of this rationally, sensibly, and realistically. I was convinced that none of our peoples, regardless of what they were told or dragged into by their leaders, will benefit from the way things started to go.

[Tudjen] And yet you came up against fierce counterattacks launched from the Serbian official circles.

[Vrhovec] Yes, because the leading people in Serbia were angry because the truth had been revealed. They claimed that unity existed and that I was undermining it with my warnings. They proceeded from the belief that, under the cloak of verbal unity, they can more successfully impose their policies on the rest of Yugoslavia. One could say that the hibernation of others suited them. Can you imagine this absurdity? Today this is being expressed almost tragically.

The final point of this strategy was the showdown with Tito and his work. The party's policy on the national question was also attacked. The 1974 Constitution was

declared counterrevolutionary, the Kosovo drama was abused in the extreme politicking spirit, and the Serbian people were proclaimed the victims of the revolution and of AVNOJ Yugoslavia. The whole system of values, the system that held us together, was destroyed. Instead of this system we have the myths and the "modern" future based on it. The spirit of the eighth session has taken over. Where is all this leading? Can anybody today not think or not want to face all this?

[Tudjen] What do you propose?

[Vrhovec] If we want to call "a spade a spade..." then we must look for the advocates of this new strategy—who are trying to implement it "legally-illegally," or "statutorily-unstatutorily"—in the current Serbian leadership, especially in view of the fact that nothing is being concealed any longer. We are talking about an "anti-bureaucratic revolution" during which a "politocracy" [politokratija] that has alienated itself from the people should fall, while the country should be led and its destiny shaped by the newly formed leaders born during the process in which "people have entered the stage."

[Tudjen] The crisis is rapidly moving toward Croatia through the dramatization of the position of Serbs in Croatia. The question is now being raised about the Prosvjeta [former Serbian cultural association in Croatia], the Cyrillic script, language, culture.

[Vrhovec] One should separate the topic that ought to be discussed from those that are abused for political purposes. Mistakes should be eliminated. I personally think that Prosvjeta or the Matica Srpska [Serbian Cultural Center] should not have been abolished, especially in view of the fact that they were not abolished during the height of the political battles that took place in 1971 and 1972, but much later. I am in favor of restoring educational and cultural societies which the Serbian population or intellectuals in Croatia regard as necessary, but, of course, not on the basis of national exclusiveness and confrontations.

[Tudjen] In your opinion, where do the attempts to destabilize Croatia come from?

[Vrhovec] The point is that some forces want to radically change the character of the Yugoslav federation. Croatia will have to be more resolute in opposing these attempts than it has been in the past.

[Tudjen] Does this mean that the seriousness of the situation has not been sufficiently appreciated in Croatia?

[Vrhovec] I think that an optimistic orientation has been present in Croatia for some time now, a view that the situation will not deteriorate and that therefore it is not necessary to "pour oil on the fire." This has been shown to be naive, especially in view of the fact that the so-called "Yugoslav synthesis" is a formula without any substance.

[Tudjen] What do you think about the promotion of the "one man, one vote" idea?

[Vrhovec] This is only an embellished story which is supposed to conceal the aspiration to make Serbia (that is to say, its ruling stratum) the chief constituent factor and the framework of the future "modern federalism." Other peoples are supposed to be kept together through "democratic centralism" and "monolithic unity." According to the logic of things, this would then lead to a police-style peace and order.

Serbian SAWP Proposes Candidates for Posts

LD0111234989 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] unanimously proposed candidates for the post of the president of the Serbian Executive Council. They are: Stanko Radmilovic, Miroslav Miskovic and Dusan Mihajlovic. The Presidium of the Republican SAWP also proposed that Slobodan Milosevic be a candidate for the post of the president of the Serbian Presidency, and that at least another candidate must be registered for the post. The following are proposed as candidates for the post of the president of the Serbian Assembly: Zoran Sokolovic and Radivoje Marinkovic.

Belgrade City Committee Presidium Elected

AU0111121589 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 89 p 5

[M.N., V.K. report: "Rados Smiljkovic Elected President"]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Oct—At their session last night, the members of the new City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade reelected Dr Rados Smiljkovic as their president. Out of 75 City Committee members who were present at the session, 65 voted for him and 10 for his opponent, Vojislav Simanovic, president of the manmaging board of the Belgrade Agricultural Combine.

The City Committee also elected 19 new members of the Presidium: Snezana Aleksic (67 votes), Branka Braticevic (66), Petar Bjelica (62), Mileta Gajic (64), Borislav Gligoric (62), Ljubisav Dimitrijevic (63), Stanoje Djuric (69), Slobodan Zegarac (61), Dragan Ilic (70), Verica Jancic (66), Zoran Jovicic (66), Slobodan Lazarevic (68), Zoltan Lajk (69), Nebojsa Maljkovic (62), Mirjana Markovic (71), Dragoslav Mladenovic (60), Obrad Pejjanovic (69), Nadja Popovic-Perisic (57), and Nikola Ristic (61). [passage omitted]

Bosnian President Contacts Slobodan Milosevic

AU0111171689 Belgrade POLITIKA
in Serbo-Croatian 27 Oct 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Obrad Piljak's Letter to Slobodan Milosevic"]

[Text] On 28 September, Obrad Piljak, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, sent a letter to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in which he referred to the report of the state security organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia regarding the emigration of Serbian population from Bosnia-Herzegovina. This letter was forwarded to the delegates of the Republican Conference of the of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Herzegovina the day before yesterday.

In his letter Piljak said that the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia held a discussion concerning the report of the State Organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and expressed his personal surprise with the way which this report was presented to Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The state security organs of the republican secretariat for internal affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina will contact the state security organs of the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia and the state security organs of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs in order to resolve problems concerning the situation and joint work in accordance with the regulations on checking and establishing the facts referred to in the above-mentioned report. This was stated in the letter which Obrad Piljak has sent to Slobodan Milosevic.

Vojvodina Rehabilitates Former Leaders

LD0111055689 Belgrade TANJUG
in English 0426 GMT 1 Nov 89

[Text] Novi Sad, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—The provincial committee of the League of Communists of Vojvodina agreed today to rehabilitate a group of former provincial party and state officials, so-called liberals who had been replaced and punished by expulsion from the party in the 1970s.

They include the then provincial party leader Mirko Canadianovic.

Members of the Vojvodina party forum today expressed concern over the spreading of nationalism and increasingly pronounced tendencies towards breaking up the Yugoslav federation.

Montenegrin Government Member Resigns

LD3010234189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Assembly today accepted the resignation of Dr Pavle Ban, republican secretary for labor, health and social policy. [passage omitted]

Macedonian LC Protests Call for 1 Dec Holiday*LD0111235689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 1 Nov 89*

[Text] Skopje, 1 Nov (TANJUG)—The Macedonian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee sharply condemned at its 30th session, as noted in the statement, the initiative that 1 December 1918, the day of the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes should be proclaimed as a Yugoslav holiday. This initiative is an anachronistic act and is an attempt to negate everything achieved by the Macedonian and other nations and nationalities during the national-liberation war and the socialist revolution.

During the revolution, the Macedonian nation built its statehood in a new state community of brotherly nations and nationalities. In this sense, the initiative would be a revision of revolutionary achievements and the federal character of the SFRY and would diminish the value of 29 November, the day when the foundations of the present Yugoslavia were laid.

The proclamation of 1 December as a state holiday, a proposal which has caused widespread and justified disapproval in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, would be an insult, not only to the Macedonian nation, but also to national sentiments of a greater part of Yugoslav nations and nationalities, the statement notes.

New Skopje City Committee President Elected*LD3010235189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1934 GMT 30 Oct 89*

[Summary] Skopje, 30 Oct (TANJUG)—The election conference of the Skopje League of Communists [LC] this evening elected Dr Todor Pelivanov to the post of the president of the Skopje LC City Committee.

Policy Neglect of Minorities Criticized*LD0111055989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0636 GMT 01 Nov 89*

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 31 (TANJUG)—In maintaining good-neighbourly relations, Yugoslavia may not neglect the question of the position of its minorities in some neighbouring countries—it was said at a session of the Yugoslav parliament's committee in charge of minority affairs today.

The committee members voiced dissatisfaction over the way the Yugoslav foreign policy has treated the question of Yugoslav national minorities in neighbouring countries. They disagreed also with an assessment made by Vladimir Sultanovic, undersecretary in the federal secretariat for foreign affairs, who said that Yugoslavia's relations with its neighbours, except for Albania, were stable and on the ascent.

This assessment, the committee viewed, does not hold for that section of relations which pertains to the position and rights of Yugoslav minorities, especially in Romania, Bulgaria, Greece and Albania.

The committee warned that the position of Macedonians in Bulgaria and Greece was arousing particular concern.

Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, told committee members that it was for technical reasons, i.e. a small-sized courtroom, that provisions could not have been made for the diplomatic representatives of seven Western countries to be present at the trial of Azem Vlas, former party chief of Kosovo, a decision to this effect, Maksic explained, is in the exclusive competence of the court.

Maksic commented on a claim by the first secretary of the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Heinrich Haupt, that this has violated the principle of reciprocity in bilateral relations by saying that it was impossible to raise the question of reciprocity, because no one of the indicted was an FRG national.

Bor Assembly Wants Details on Excessive Radiation*AU3110160789 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Oct 89*

[Text] As announced, delegates of the Bor Communal Assembly have supported the demands of the ecological movement and above all the demand for the embargo to be urgently lifted from the strictly confidential report by the Serbian Assembly on excessive levels of radiation in eastern Serbia, particularly in Bor and its surroundings. Here is a report by Brana Filipovic:

Radoslav [name indistinct], president of the Communal Assembly, explained the situation, or rather the affair, that has arisen and recalled the speculation about the alleged appearance and processing of nuclear waste. The delegates then unanimously supported, as was stressed, the justified demands of the Greens that the embargo be immediately lifted from the report by the Serbian Assembly on radioactivity in the area of eastern Serbia and Belgrade—an 850-fold increase has been mentioned—that the republican Executive Council and the public prosecutor's office initiate and launch an investigation for establishing the reliable ecological truth, that journalists be allowed total freedom in the future to report to the public, and that the Bor Basin find the opportunity as soon as possible to acquire the most modern metal processing technology.

These are identical to the demands of the ecological movement which has scheduled a meeting in the center of Bor for tomorrow at 1400 [1300 GMT] with the motto, Who is polluting the environment?, and the basic message that was voiced at today's communal session: No one has the right to embargo any report on the living and working conditions in Bor.

The increasingly numerous champions of the ecological movement have particularly issued a warning: If the frequently mentioned embargo is not lifted, the Bor people will urgently organize a meeting against polluters and their protectors in front of the SFRY Assembly.

End